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MISCELLANEOUS

TRACTS:

VIZ.

I. The Hiſtory of the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes* out of *Spain*, in the Reign of *Philip* III.
II. The Hiſtory of the Wars of the Commons of *Caſtile*, in the Beginning of the Reign of the Emperor *Charles* V.
III. A View of the *Spaniſh Cortes*, or Parliament.
IV. An Account of the Manuſcripts and Reliques found in the Mountains of *Granada*, 1588.
V. A View of the Inquiſition of *Portugal*; with a Liſt of the Priſoners which came out of the Inquiſition of *Lisbon*, in an *Act of the Faith*., Celebrated *Anno* 1682.
VI. A *Spaniſh* Proteſtant Martyrology.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, *Doctor of Laws, and Chancellor of the Church of* Sarum.

LONDON:

Printed for *A.* and *J. Churchill*, at the *Black-Swan*, in *Paternoſter-Row*.
MDCCII.

ADAMS

THE PREFACE.

THough the General Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain, was one of the greatest Revolutions of this Age, yet through the short Accounts that are given of it in the General Histories of that Kingdom, and through the Books which have been Published in Spanish concerning it, being all out of Print, and hard to be come by; it is so little known, that I cannot say that I have met with many among the Curious in History, that knew much more of it, than that it happen'd at such a time, and that Spain was thereby much Depopulated and Impoverished; being altogether in the dark, as to the Pretences whereon it was Executed, and by whom, and by what Methods it was promoted; and in a word, as to most of its Material Circumstances.

Wherefore, that so great and useful a Piece of History may not be in a manner lost in this part of the World, after having with no small Trouble, procured all, or most of the Books that were ever Printed concerning this Tragical Expulsion, I

did

did ſet my Self to write as full an Account of it as the ſaid Books would help me to, and which having finiſhed, I was the more forward to make Publick, believing, it might be of great uſe to our own, and to all other Proteſtant Governments, not to Imitate, which God, and Policy do forbid; but that deteſting its Barbarity and Inhumanity, they may be warned by it to be always on their Guard againſt an undefatigable Enemy, who, tho he may promiſe, does never give Quarter; and with whom a Proteſtant, *a* Jew, *and a* Mahometan, *are all one and the ſame; no Cruelties being thought great enough for any of them, if they will not believe as the* Roman Church *believeth.*

And tho I cannot but be ſenſible, that this Work might have been done to more advantage, by moſt that pretend to write Hiſtory, had they had the ſame Conveniencies, I can nevertheleſs affirm, That as to all Matters of Fact, it could not have been done by any with more Faithfulneſs. And as to the Reflections I have made on ſuch matters, I ſhall only ſay, That had I not thought them to be Juſt, I ſhould never have Publiſh'd them; but whether they are ſo, or not, the Readers muſt Judge, to whoſe Candor I commit them.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE EXPULSION OF THE Moriſco's OUT OF SPAIN.

THE Taking of the City of *Granada*, by King *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, and Queen *Iſabel* of *Caſtile*, in the Year 1492. tho' it did put an end to the *Mooriſh* Government in *Spain*, where it had laſted above 700 Years; did not clear the Country of the

Moors: The Body of the People, not only of the Kingdom of *Granada*, but of that of *Valentia* likewise, tho' Conquer'd by the *Christians*, in the Year 1236. and of *Murcia*, Conquer'd by them in the Year, 1265. being of that Race; besides great numbers of them scatter'd all over *Castile*, *Estramadura*, *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, &c. All these *Moors* did continue to keep themselves a distinct People from the *Spaniards*, by an obstinate adherence, not only to the Language, Habit, and Customs of their Ancestors, but to their Religion likewise, which was the *Mahometan*; few, or none of them in a long series of years having been Converted to the Christian Faith by all that the *Spanish* Friars could do or say to them: the *Mahometans*, of whatsoever Nation, thorow their being all taught from their Infancy, to value themselves extreamly upon their Religion, for its being the Reigning Religion in so many great Empires, and to despise all that are not of it, as little better than Dogs; being in truth a stubborn sort of Creatures to Convert; and especially to a Sect that adores Images, for which they have all an invincible aversion.

The *Spanish* Princes being sensible, how dangerous a thing it was, by reason of their near Neighbourhood to *Barbary*, to have

have ſo many *Moors* in their Dominions, and eſpecially on the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, where moſt of 'em lived, were at a loſs what to do with them: To have Murthered them all in cold Blood, was a thing that would have filled the World with Horror; and to Baniſh them all into *Barbary*, would be to depopulate their own Countries, and to ſtrengthen their Enemies by an acceſſion of ſo many thouſands of Families; the thing therefore that they did moſt earneſtly deſire and purſue, was to make them all Chriſtians, knowing, that if that were once done effectually, it would extinguiſh all Affection in them for the *Moors* of *Barbary*, and in caſe of an Invaſion from thence, would make them no leſs zealous than their Neighbours, to defend *Spain*. For which Reaſon, the *Spaniſh* Kings and Nobles were continually calling upon the Eccleſiaſtics, to Convert their *Mooriſh* Subjects, and Vaſſals to Chriſtianity, telling them, among other things, to quicken them to the work; that it was a great Reproach to the Chriſtian Faith, that it ſhould not, where it had ſo many and great advantages over *Mahometiſm*, be able to Conquer it.

The Friars on the other ſide, who went only by ſtarts, and Preached a few Sermons to theſe Infidels, being very angry

with them, because they would not be Converted by them; did represent them as a most obstinate and obdurate sort of People, who were not to be overcome with Arguments, nor by any other than violent Methods: They did therefore all along advise their Princes either to Banish the *Moors*, or to make them all Slaves, if they would not turn Christians; or at least, to take all their Children from them, and Baptize them; by which means the next Generation would be all *Christians*

But these Methods being reckoned by all that were not piqu'd by the *Moors*, having affronted them by their not having turned *Christians*, upon their Preaching to them, to be very hard, if not unlawful ways of Converting Infidels to the Faith; the Council of *Toledo* having expresly forbid the forcing of Infidels to be Baptized; and *Thomas Aquinas*, and most of their other Divines having declared it not to be Lawful to Baptize the Children of Infidels without their Parents consent; These Methods were not used at this time. But besides that, it was extraordinary Scandalous to use such violent methods with the *Moors*, who, when they were Regnant, had never forced any of their Christian Subjects to change their Religion, but had always allowed them the Publick Exercise of their Worship.

Worſhip: and further, King *Ferdinand*, when the City of *Granada* was Surrendred to him, had engaged himſelf by an Oath, if the *Moors* had a mind to remain in *Spain*, not to give them any Diſturbance on the account of their Religion, but to let them enjoy it with the ſame freedom as they had done under their own Princes.

For the firſt ſeven years after the Taking of *Granada*, we do not find that the *Moors* were much Perſecuted by the *Spaniards*, to oblige them to change their Religion, their Converſion having been left by *Ferdinand*, according to his Oath, to the Arguments, and Perſwaſions of the Arch Biſhop, and other Eccleſiaſtics he had ſetled among them in great numbers, and without giving them Authority to make uſe of any Violence.

But *Ferdinand* being under no ſuch Engagement to the *Jews*, who were likewiſe very numerous in *Spain* at that time, he did within three Months after the taking of the City of *Granada*, by a Publick Edict command all the *Jews*, if they would not be baptized, To depart with their Families within four Months, out of all his Dominions, upon Pain of Death: Which moſt of them did; ſome going into *Italy*, others to *Turkey*, and *Barbary*; but the main Body of them went into *Portugal*; where, for a great ſum of Money, they obtained leave

of King *John* the II. to continue for some Months, until they could be provided with Ships to carry them off. But notwithstanding, the Reason why they did not leave *Portugal* within the time prefix'd, was, that the King would not suffer any Ships to take them abord; and by Land they durst not go, the *Spaniard* having made it death for any of them to return into his Dominions; they were all, so soon as that Term was expired, strip'd by the King of all their Goods, and sold to his Subjects for Slaves.

King *Emanuel*, who succeeded *John*, reckoning it to have been both an unjust and dishonourable thing that his Predecessor had done to the *Jews*, he set them all at liberty again; but at the same time, commanded them all, upon Pain of Perpetual Servitude, Either to be Baptized within a certain Term of Months, or to leave *Portugal*; promising, That Ships should be provided for all that would depart, at the three chief Ports of his Kingdom. The *Jews* who had all left *Spain*, where they and their Ancestors had lived for a great many Generations, because they would not turn *Christians*, did intend to have left *Portugal* for the same Reason; and did accordingly repair with their Families, to the Ports appointed for their Embarcation; where,

where, inſtead of Ships to carry them off, they met with a Proclamation, prohibiting them, upon pain of Death, to embark any where but at *Lisbon*: To which City, when they were all come with their Families, the King commanded all their Children, that were under fourteen Years of Age, to be taken from them, and to be baptized by force: With which unexpected Violence, ſeveral Parents were ſo enrag'd, that they threw their Children that were under that Age, into the River, and into Wells, and themſelves after them. But the time appointed for their Embarcation being expired, and no Ships being permitted to take any of them abord, they did rather than be made Slaves again, conſent to be baptized.

The *Jews* who were at this time baptiz'd in this manner, are reckoned to have been above three hundred thouſand Men, Women, and Children: And whereas few, if any of them, were in their Hearts Chriſtians, when they were thus forc'd to receive Baptiſm; ſo great numbers of their Deſcendents do to this day in *Portugal*, continue to breed up their Children in the *Jewiſh* Religion, notwithſtanding the unintermitting Cruelties which have ever ſince been exercis'd by the Inquiſition, upon all of

them that have been convicted of having returned to that Faith.

This dispersion of the *Spanish Jews*, is reckoned by all of that Nation and Religion, to have been, both as to hardships, and as to their numbers, nothing inferior to that which follow'd upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; above eight hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children having been driven out of *Spain* at this time. But to return to the *Moors*.

In the Year 1499, *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* having return'd to visit their new Conquests, did find, that in the seven Years the *Granada Moors* had been under their Government, few or none of them had beeen converted to Christianity; whereupon they sent to the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who, at that time, was the Famous *Ximines*, to come to them at *Granada*; who being arrived, they charged him, as he had any regard for the honour of the Christian Religion, the Salvation of thousands of Souls, and the security of *Spain*, to take some course or other to convert their *Mooriſh* Subjects to the Christian Faith; who as they were inform'd, were no less *Mahometans*, than they were when they liv'd under Kings of their own Religion. *Ximines*, who was a Man that would not be easily bafled in any thing that he undertook, begun that great

Work

Work with courting and careſſing the chief Men among the *Moors*; and having by rich Preſents, and greater Promiſes, perſuaded ſome of the firſt Quality among them to turn Chriſtians, their Examples were followed by a conſiderable number of the Inferior ſort. The *Moors* both in the City and Country being much alarm'd and diſpleaſed with thoſe Converſions, ſeveral of their principal men, with whom the Archbiſhop had not been able to prevail, did go about to perſuade their Kindred and others, neither to be flattered nor bribed out of the Religion of their Forefathers. The Arch-Biſhop, ſo ſoon as he heard of thoſe Counterworkings, *laying all Humanity*, ſaith the Writer of his Life, *almoſt aſide*, he commanded all thoſe Zealots to be apprehended; and having loaded them with Irons, he ordered them to be thrown into Dungeons, and to be treated in them as the greateſt of Malefactors. Among theſe Zealots, there was one named *Zagri*, who was of a Noble Family, and had been in a high Command in Armies; and who among his other Exploits, had in his younger days fought hand to hand with *Gonzalo* the Great Captain: The Archbiſhop reckoning, that if he were but able to ſubdue *Zagri*'s high Spirit, ſo far as to make him turn Chriſtian, none among the *Moors* would after that

dare

dare to oppose him in his Conversions: He committed him to the custody of one of his own Chaplains, named *Leoni*, a man of a fierce and cruel disposition; in whose keeping, *Zagri* had not been many days, before he begg'd of his Keeper to be permitted to speak with the Archbishop: Which having been granted, *Zagri*, when he appear'd before him, desired, That his Irons might be knock'd off, that he might deliver his Mind with the more freedom; which having been done, he declared; *That he had been commanded the Night before in a Dream, to turn Christian*; adding, at the same time, with a smile; *I am not such a Blockhead as to want any more Arguments to persuade me to that, besides those I have had given me by that terrible Lion of your Lordship's*; alluding to his Keeper's Name; *to whom*, said Zagri, *let my Countrymen be but committed for so many days, as I have been, and I will undertake they shall all be converted by him to Christianity*; intimating, how barbarously he had been used by *Leoni*. The Archbishop being overjoy'd at his having thus converted *Zagri*, commanded him to be lead out, and washed; and having cloathed him in Scarlet, he baptized him himself, calling him by the Name of *Gonzalo Ferdinando*, the Great Captain, who was at that time in *Granada*; and setling a Pen-

sion

ſion on him of 5000 Crowns yearly, for his Life; the other *Moriſh* Priſoners being no more able than *Zagri*, to withſtand *Leoni*'s Arguments, did yield, and were baptized likewiſe by the Archbiſhop; who after this commanded all the *Moors* to deliver their *Alchorans*, and all their other *Arabick* Books to him: Which having been done, he ordered all the Books that treated of Philoſophy and Medicine to be preſerved, burning all the reſt in the Market-place of the City, to the great mortification of the *Moors*, who had not chang'd their Religion: And being reſolved to make his Harveſt as great as it was poſſible, he commanded the Children of all the *Moors*, who were called *Elkes*, to be taken from them, and baptized; upon pretence, that their Anceſtors were anciently Chriſtians, who had apoſtatized to the *Mahometan Sect*.

While the Archbiſhop was going on thus triumphantly with his Converſions, the *Moors*, who were enraged thereby almoſt to Madneſs, took up Arms; and having firſt barricado'd the Streets of the City, they march'd in a great Body to the Houſe where the Archbiſhop lodged; who having ſent one of his Servants to them, to know what it was they deſired; they ſent him word, That they deſired, that the Articles whereon they had ſurrendred the City to

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the King, might be observed; and particularly, that of their having no trouble given 'em on the account of their Religion, which they would sooner die than part with: The Archbishop returned a very mild and favourable Answer to this Message, and continued to give them good words, and large Promises of what he would do for them, until the *Count de Tondale* Governor of the Citadel, came to his relief; who having, with very little bloodshed, dispersed the *Moors*, the Archbishop would not treat with them any longer, but as with Rebels; who had forfeited, not only all the Benefits of their Capitulation, but their Lives also, by the late Uproar.

The first News that the King and Queen, who were then at *Sevil*, had of this Insurrection, made it to be a great deal worse than it was; that News was, That the *Moors*, provoked by the Violences used by the Archbishop, to force them to change their Religion, had rebelled, and made themselves Masters of the whole City of *Granada*; and no Advice coming from the Archbishop, thorough the negligence of the Currier, by whom he had sent his Letters, his Conduct was severely censured by the whole Court, but especially by the King himself; who not having as yet digested the Affront the Queen had put upon him, in making

making *Ximines* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, tho he had begg'd it earneſtly of her for his Natural Son *Alphonſo*, of *Aragon*, Archbiſhop of *Saragoca*: He bid her with indignation, *See what her hot-headed* Ximines *had done, having by his violent and obſtinate Folly, loſt a Place in a few Weeks, which had coſt* Spain *ſo much Sweat and Blood.* But Advice coming ſoon after, That the Inſurrection was quelled, the King diſpatch'd Judges to *Granada*, to condemn all the *Moors*, who had been any ways concerned in the Tumult, as Traytors; and having firſt condemned them, to offer them their Lives, if they would turn Chriſtians: Which Order, having been executed by the Judges, fifty thouſand *Moors*, Inhabitants of the City of *Granada*, purchaſed their Lives, by conſenting to be baptized: By which means the Archbiſhop, when he went from *Granada*, did not leave one profeſs'd *Mahometan* in that City: Tho' it was reaſonably believ'd, that he had not made one True Convert all the time that he was there.

The Biſhop of *Granada*, to whom the Inſtructions of *Ximines*'s Converts in the *Chriſtian* Faith was left, order'd the Pſalms, the Goſpels, and the Epiſtles to be Tranſlated into *Arabick* for their uſe, for which Method of Inſtruction that Biſhop was much blam'd by *Ximines*,

mines, who thereupon declar'd, *That whensoever the Bible should come to be Translated into Vulgar Tongues, it would be of Pernicious Consequence to Christianity.*

The great Violences that had been used with the *Moors* of the City of *Granada*, to force them to turn *Christians*, did so alarm the *Moors* in the Country, who expected it would be their turn quickly to be treated in the same manner, that they Fortifi'd themselves among the Mountains, where they lived, being resolved rather to die *Mahometans*, with their Swords in their hands, than to be forc'd to be Baptiz'd, as their Country-men had been in the City: but before they were able to Form their Militia, and Fortify their Houses, the Captain and the Count *de Tindel* were upon 'em with an Army of *Veterane* Troops; and without breaking Ground, having taken *Huyar*, or the most considerable Town among the Mountains, by Assault, did put all the *Moors*, Men, Women, and Children that they found in it, to the Sword; expecting that the Terror thereof would have reduc'd all the *Moors* that were in Arms to Obedience; which it was so far from doing, that the news thereof made them Fortify themselves in all places, and helped them to a much greater Army than they could otherwise have Raised.

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The *Moors* being now too ſtrong for the great Captain, with the Army he had with him to deal with; The King in Perſon, Marched againſt them, and with the Troops he brought with him, being joyned with thoſe of the Great Captain, he did in a ſhort time, Reduce *Sanaiarra*, *Almeria*, *Bacca*, *Guadie*, and all the other *Mooriſh* Towns that were in Arms; obliging all the Inhabitants as faſt as he Reduc'd them, to purchace their Lives by conſenting to be Baptized. And whereas there were ſtill great numbers of *Moors* in Arms among the Mountains, which were not acceſſible to an Army, the King ſet forth a Proclamation, Commanding them all upon pain of Death to lay down their Arms, and to remove, with their Families, into the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, where Dwellings ſhould be provided for them: But the *Moors* being ſenſible, that if the *Spaniards* had them once out of their Faſtneſſes, they would either force them to turn *Chriſtians*, or cut all their Throats, they ſent ſome Commiſſioners to the King, to deſire, that ſince they could not be ſuffered to enjoy their Religion in *Spain*, they might be Tranſported to *Barbary*, offering to pay ten Dollars a Head for every one that Embarqu'd: The King, who was in great want of Money, having agreed to this, ſeveral thouſands of the

Moors

Moors Embarqued aboard a Fleet that the King had provided for them at *Estopona*, but a great many more were left behind for want of Money to pay for their Passage, who were all forced to be Baptized: So that in a few months, above two hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children were Converted by the King and the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, from the *Mahometan* to the *Christian* Profession: I say Profession, because it is more than probable, that there was scarce one in all that vast Number that was truly Converted to the *Christian* Faith; or, if any were, it must have been by immediate Divine Inspiration, and not by outward Instruction, which few, or none of them had ever had.

The Inquisition, which had not at that time been erected into such a Court as it is now, above twenty years, looking upon all these forc'd Baptisms as good and valid, did exercise all its usual Cruelties on such of the *Moors* as were Convicted of having returned to *Mahometism*, which few, or none of them had ever left with their hearts.

No fewer than an hundred thousand, living and dead, present and absent, having been Condemned for Apostacy by the Inquisition of *Sevil*, in the space of forty years: of which number, four thousand were

were Burnt, and thirty thouſand were Reconciled, the reſt having made their eſcape into *Barbary*, upon their fears that they were in danger of being taken up by that Court.

Thorow this great Inquiſition Deſolation, *Garibai* ſaith three, *Ileſcas* ſaith five thouſand Houſes were left void, and without Inhabitants, within the Diſtricts of the Inquiſition of *Sevil*: Of which great Deſolation, Complaint having been made by the Owners of thoſe Houſes to the King; moſt of the Counſellors of State were of Opinion, that the Inquiſition was not to be ſuffered to make ſuch terrible havock of the People, telling the King plainly, that if a ſtop were not put to the Fury of that Court, it would in a ſhort time turn *Spain* into a perfect Deſert. But the King not ſeeming to be at all moved by theſe Remonſtrances, a great Summ of Money, of which he ſtood in great need at that time, was offered, if he would conſent to the putting down of the Inquiſition, which, contrary to the Rules of all good Policy had been erected by him in *Spain*; to which Propoſition the King having ſeem'd to lend an Ear, *Thomas de Turrecremata*, a *Dominican* Friar, who, for having Modell'd the Court of Inquiſition as it was then, and has been ever ſince in *Spain*, was made the

first Inquisitor-General; when he heard thereof Posted away to Court, and having, so soon as he arrived, obtained an Audience of the King and Queen, he pulled a Crucifix from under his Habit before he spoke a word, and holding it forth to 'em, said, *I am not a Stranger to the Bargain that is going on here: Our Blessed Saviour, Christ Jesus was Sold by the wretched* Judas *for Thirty Pieces of Silver; if you reckon that* Judas *did well in Selling him to his Enemies, you may follow his Example, and Sell him for a great deal more; but that I may not seem to have any hand in such an abominable Bargain, I do here lay down my Authority, and do you answer to God for what will be the Consequence of it*; with which free and Passionate Expostulation the King and Queen were so deeply touch'd, that none durst after that, ever speak to either of 'em one word against the Inquisition, or concerning the Desolations that were made by it, in all the Kingdoms of *Spain*.

The News of the great Cruelties exercised on the *Moors* of *Granada* by the *Spaniards*, to force them to turn *Christians*, having been carri'd to Grand *Cairo*, together with a Copy of the Articles whereon *Granada* had been Surrendred to *Ferdinand*; the Soldan and his Mamalukes were so enraged thereat, that they threatned to treat all

all the *Chriſtians*, but particularly the *Latin Chriſtians* at *Jeruſalem*, after the ſame manner as the *Spaniards* had, contrary to their Oaths, treated the *Mahometans* that were their Subjects:

Ferdinand having receiv'd Advice of the Danger the *Latin Chriſtians* in *Egypt*, and other *Eaſtern* Countries were in, by reaſon of what he had done to the *Moors*; he immediately diſpatch'd the Learned *Peter Martyr*, with the Character of his Ambaſſador, to the Soldan, to ſatisfie him of his having obſerved the Capitulations he had made with the *Moors*, and of his having never forced any of them to change their Religion. *Peter Martyr* being arrived at Grand *Cairo*, did with great difficulty obtain a private Audience by Night of the Soldan, who durſt not for fear of the *Mamalukes*, give him one publickly; at which Audience, in conformity to what is ſaid of an Ambaſſador, *being one ſent to lie abroad for his Maſter's Service*, *Peter* did aſſure the Soldan that all that he had been told of his Maſter's having broke his Oath with the *Moors*, in having Perſecuted them to make them turn *Chriſtians*, was notoriouſly falſe: His Maſter and Miſtreſs being too good *Chriſtians* themſelves, to do a thing that was ſo contrary to their Religion, as the forcing of People by ſeverity to embrace

it; he told him further, that it was true, that most of the *Granada Moors*, since they had been Subjects to his Master had been Baptized, but that not one of them had been forc'd to receive that Sacrament, it not being Lawful for *Christians* to administer it to any that did not earnestly and freely desire it.

But whether the Soldan, who with his Empire was quickly after that destroyed by the *Turks*, was satisfi'd or not with what the *Spanish* Ambassador had told him, of none of the *Moors* having been forc'd to receive Baptism; it is certain that several *Spanish* Divines were so sensible of their having been compelled to receive that Sacrament, that they declared their Baptism to be null and void, and to have been a great Profanation of that Sacrament.

During the remaining part of the Reign of *Ferdinand*, and *Isabel*, and the whole Reign of *Charles* V. we hear little more of the *Granada Moriscoes*, as the *Spaniards* call'd them, to distinguish them from the *Moors* of *Barbary*, than that they did universally continue to be *Mahometans*, and that with an extraordinary aversion to *Christianity*: which aversion was rather encreas'd than lessen'd in them, by the great Preachers, who were from time to time sent among them to instruct them; and by the

the Inquiſitions Burning great Numbers of them every year for having Apoſtatiz'd, if they may be truly ſaid to have Apoſtatiz'd from *Chriſtianity*, who, tho' forc'd to profeſs it, had never believed it, as all, or moſt of them that were put to death, declared at the Stake when they came to die.

Thus the Friars went on Preaching, and the Inquiſitors went on Burning the *Moriſcoes*, until the Year 1568. When *Philip* II. having been aſſured from all hands, that unleſs ſome other courſes were taken to reconcile the *Granada Moriſcoes* to the *Chriſtian* Faith, they would continue *Mahometans* to the end of the World, and who being a very Fruitful People, and under none of thoſe reſtraints from Marriage, which great numbers of the old *Chriſtians* were under, they would in a few Generations fill the Kingdom of *Granada* with People of that Sect: The King, with the Advice of his Council, and of ſome of the Wiſeſt among the Eccleſiaſticks, did Publiſh the following Laws, in order to extinguiſh in the *Moriſcoes*, the Memory of their being deſcended of the *Moors*, the Memory whereof was truly reckoned to contribute not a little to their Obſtinacy in the Religion of that Nation.

1. 'That it should not be lawful for any 'in the Kingdom of *Granada* to wear the '*Mooriſh* Habit, which was deſcribed in the 'Law.

2. 'That it ſhould not be lawful for any, 'in thatKingdom,to obſerve the Cuſtoms of 'the *Moors*; ſeveral of which Cuſtoms were 'particulariz'd.

3. 'That it ſhould not be lawful for any 'in that Kingdom, to ſpeak *Arabick*, or to 'teach their Children that Language: All 'which things they were commanded to 'obſerve, upon Pain of Death.

The King being ſenſible that the *Moriſcoes* would be highly provoked by the ſtrict execution of theſe Laws, which tho' in their own Nature Civil, had a natural tendency, and were deſigned to extinguiſh in them their love for *Mahometiſm*; he did at the ſame time, command the *Moriſcoes*, to be all diſarmed, and not to be ſuffered to have Places or Houſes of any ſtrength; or to aſſemble any where together in great numbers.

The *Moriſcoes*, who reckoned that there was ſomething of Religion in every thing they had in common with the *Moors*, and which were not in uſe among the *Spaniards*, being extremely uneaſy under the rigorous execution of theſe Laws, ſent ſome Commiſſioners privately to the *Grand Seignior* and

and to the *Moors* in *Barbary*, to acquaint them with the Cruelties which were exerciſed upon them by the *Spaniards*, on the account of their being *Muſſulmen*; and with the Laws which had been lately impoſed upon them, with an intention of extinguiſhing the *Mahometan* Faith in *Spain*; beſeeching thoſe Princes, in the Name of their great and common Prophet, to find out ſome way to oblige the *Spaniards* to ſuffer them to enjoy their Religion quietly, according to the Capitulation whereon the City of *Granada* had been ſurrendred to them; by which Agreement, the *Spaniards* were bound by Oath, not to give them any diſturbance on that account, nor to deny them the uſe of Publick *Moſchs*, for the free exerciſe of their Worſhip. Upon theſe Complaints of the *Moriſcoes*, 800 *Turks* are ſaid to have ben ſent, with a great quantity of Arms and Ammunition, into the Kingdom of *Granada*; but we are neither told from what Port they came, nor at what Port they were landed; but that upon their being got among the Mountains of *Granada*, the *Moors* did flock to them from all parts, in ſuch numbers, that in a very ſhort time they had formed a conſiderable Army, and had ſo fortified all the Paſſages of the Mountains, that it was not poſſible for any Force that was not much ſuperior

to theirs, to offend them. We are told farther, that they were no sooner in Arms, than they did all renounce the Profession of the Christian Religion; declaring, That they were, and had always been, true *Mahometans* in their Hearts; and were now resolved to spend the last drop of their Blood in the maintenance of that Sect; and that they did not only turn all their Churches into *Mosks*; but did also, in great triumph, burn all the Hosts, Images and Reliques that they found in them, killing a great many of the Priests and Fryers, which had been planted among them, to convert them, which has occasion'd a great swelling of the *Spanish Martyrology*.

So soon as the King heard of the *Moriscoes* being in Arms, the Marquess of *Mondejar*, Governor of the City of *Granada*, was ordered, with all the Troops he could get together, to march against them; and though that Marquess did beat them in most of the Skirmishes he had with them, yet in 18 Months time he was neither able to conquer them, nor to starve them among the Mountains, by keeping Provisions from going to them; both the *Turks* and the *Moors* being People that can live upon simple and very little Food.

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The King fearing leſt the *Moriſcoes*, if they kept the Field much longer, might be reinforced, and ſupply'd with Proviſions and Ammunition, either by the *Turks*, or by that *Moors*, did ſend a conſiderable and well diſciplin'd Army againſt them, under the command of his Brother *Don John of Auſtria*, with orders to attaque them vigorouſly on all ſides: Which was done ſo briskly by that Young Prince, that in a few Weeks, though with the loſs of a great many men, among whom was his Governor *Don Lewis Quixada*, he did not leave a *Moriſco* any where in Arms. The *Moriſcoes* being thus totally ſubdu'd, were all with their Families removed out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, where it was eaſie for them to hold a correſpondence with the *Moors* of *Barbary*, and diſperſed over the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and ſome other In-land Provinces, in which they and their Poſterity continued until the time of their general Expulſion.

In this *Moriſco* War, which laſted about two Years, above twenty thouſand *Spaniards* are ſaid to have been killed. Having nothing more to write of the *Granada Moriſcoes*, from the time of their having been all tranſplanted into *Caſtile*, until the time of their general Expulſion, in the Year 1610; but that notwithſtanding all the diligences and Cruelties which were uſed to reconcile

reconcile them to *Christianity*, they and their Posterity did still continue as much *Mahometans* in their Hearts as ever they had been.

I do now pass to the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Arragon*, who had all continued profess'd *Mahometans* for three hundred Years after they were conquered by the *Christians*; and who having been all baptized by an extreme force, did remain *Mahometans* in their Hearts until they were all expelled *Spain*.

James, King of *Aragon* by whom *Valentia* was conquer'd in the Year 1236, finding that he could not without depopulating his Conquests, turn the *Moors* out of it, commanded the Ecclesiasticks to set earnestly about the converting them to *Christianity*, as well to save their Souls, as to make them good Subjects to a *Christian* Prince; which he reckoned they could never be, so long as they remained *Mahometans*: And since few of the *Moriscoes* understood any Tongue but the *Arabick*, he desired the *Fryers* to study that Language, to be able to preach in it to the *Moriscoes*: And for to encourage that Study, he erected two Schools for it; the one in the Island of *Majorca*, and the other at *Barcelona*: The Fryers, and particularly the *Dominicans*, in conformity to the King's Command, backed by a Decree

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of a Council aſſembled at *Toledo*, and another of a General Chapter of the *Dominican* Order, did appoint ſuch of their Orders, as they judg'd to be moſt capable, to apply themſelves aſſiduouſly to the ſtudy of the *Arabick* Tongue; which was done by ſeveral of them with ſo much diligence, that they are ſaid to have become great Maſters of, and Eloquent Preachers in *Arabick* in a very ſhort time.

But whatever their ſucceſs was in the ſtudy of the Language of the *Moriſcoes*, it is certain, that either thorow their own Impatience, or the *Moriſcoes* Obſtinacy, their ſucceſs in preaching to them was very ſmal; for in leſs time, after the Conqueſt of *Valentia*, than that difficult Tongue is ordinarily attainable, in ſuch a meaſure as to preach in it, the Fryers employed in that work, were every where repreſenting the *Moriſcoes*, as ſuch incurable Infidels, that it was in vain ever to hope, by any human means, unleſs it were by thoſe of force, to convert them to *Chriſtianity:* And to make the *Moriſcoes* Obſtinacy in their Infidelity the more inexcuſable, they pretended to have wrought abundance of Miracles among them without any Succceſs.

Upon theſe Repreſentations of the Obſtinacy of the *Moriſcoes* in the *Mahometan* Sect, *Pope Clement* the IV, writ a long

Letter

Letter to the same King *James* that conquered *Valentia*, to banish the *Moriscoes* out of all his Dominions, exhorting him to it in the following words: *Consider, my Son, consider, how dangerous a thing it is to suffer* Saracens *to live in your Kingdoms; who though they may out of Fear, for a time, conceal their malice, will, when ever they shall have an opportunity, discover it with a vengeance: So that by suffering those obstinate Infidels to remain within your Dominions, you do nourish a Serpent in your Bosom, and Fire in your Lap:* with a great deal more to the same purpose, and with the same Passion.

At the same time *Clement* writ the following Letter to that King, on occasion of his having made one *Jatruda*, a profess'd *Jew*, Lord of his Treasury; and upon his having had a Conference held before him, concerning the Truth of the *Christian Faith*, betwixt a *Dominican Fryer* and a *Jew*; and of a Book which had been published by that *Jew* against the *Christian Faith*, upon the Subject of that Conference.

Most Glorious Prince, that the Zeal wherewith you do incessantly endeavour to Adorn the Orthodox Faith may shine the more Illustriously in the Subduing of all its Enemies and Rivals, and particularly the Jews, *who do above all others, Blaspheme the Christian Name with Violence and Bitterness: for the future,*

future, you muſt not admit any of that Religion to bear Offices, neither muſt you confer any Honour upon any of them; but on the contrary, muſt ſo far as the Priviledges allow'd them by the Apoſtolical See *will permit you, reſtrain, and trample upon their Malice, and not ſuffer their Blaſphemies to go unpuniſhed; but above all, the Impudence of that* Jew *ought to be ſeverely Chaſtiſed, who upon the Diſputation which he had in your Preſence, with our Loving, and Religious Son, Father* Paul, *of the* Predicant *Order, is ſaid to have writ a Book which he has filled with Lies, and has, to Propagate them, diſperſed ſeveral Copies of the ſaid Book through your Territories; for which Impudent Fact he ought to be puniſhed Severely, but without touching his Life, or maiming his Body, yet ſo as to terrify others from ever being ſo Audacious as to attempt the like. We do therefore admoniſh your Serenity, &c.*

Whatever Effect this Letter, writ by the Pope concerning the *Jews*, had on the King, he was ſo inflam'd by that which was writ to him, concerning the *Moriſcoes*, that could he have had his will, he had not left one of them within his Dominions, that had refuſed to be Baptiz'd.

But the Conſtitution of the Government of *Aragon*, and *Valentia*, being ſuch, that the King had no Authority to do any thing

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of a Publick Nature without the Concurrence of the Three Estates in *Cortes*, or *Parliament* Assembled, the King call'd a *Cortes*, to try if he could prevail with 'em to have all the *Moriscoes* Banished that wou'd not turn *Christians*.

In which *Cortes* the King made this following Speech at the Opening of it.

Most Prudent Men, you are all witnesses of the great Labours we have undergone to Conquer this Kingdom and City, neither is our mind as yet quiet, not so much through a desire of making farther Conquests, as out of a Zeal to Conquer the Souls of our Subjects to Christ, and to his true Religion; to which Holy Enterprize, we have given a beginning in this City, by having commanded all the Moriscoes *that live therein, either to turn* Christians, *or to go and live some where else: but in the Country we have not been able to carry this matter so far. Wherefore, what I have to tell you is, that since the War is at an end, and all things are well setled, and the* Moriscoes *have been permitted to live quietly in their Houses, and upon their Lands, and have, to make the Yoke of their Subjection the more easie, been suffered to profess their own Religion; that their persevering after all this in the wicked Sect of* Mahometism, *is an undeniable evidence of Infidelity being deeply rooted in their hearts, and does further assure*

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the World, that they will never be faithful either to God, or us. After the King had made this Speech, it was propoſed, that the *Moriſcoes*, if they would not turn *Chriſtians*, ſhould be all baniſhed the Kingdom: The Eccleſiaſticks and Commons gave their conſent to it: But the Barons, to whom moſt of the *Moriſcoes* were Vaſſals, and whoſe Lands would have been of little profit to them, after the People by whom they were cultivated, were ſent away, would by no means agree to its being done, declaring it to be both an impolitick, and a wicked thing; and that the Eccleſiaſticks, inſtead of promoting the Expulſion of a People (by whom the whole Work of the Kingdom was done in a manner) if they would not turn *Chriſtians*, ought to take pains to inſtruct them in the Faith; in which, whatever might be pretended, it was certain they had never been ſufficiently inſtructed; ſo that it was the *Moriſcoes* Ignorance of the *Chriſtian Religion*, more than their love for the *Mahometan*, that kept them from being converted.

By this brisk Oppoſition, having been made by the whole Body of the Barons, who were called, *The Military Arm*, or *Eſtuto*, to the firſt publick motion that had been made for the Baniſhing of the *Moriſcoes*, the deſign of expelling them was ſo knocked

on

on the head, that the Barons continuing to the last to be of the same mind, as we shall see hereafter; it was not that we read of, notwithstanding the *Moriscoes* did all still remain *Mahometans*, revived again in above 300 Years; when the Power and Authority of the Barons, were by the Policy of their Princes, brought to a very low Ebb, from what they had been anciently.

The Barons, or Nobles, who in the beginning of the Conquests made upon the *Moors* in *Spain*, were Fellow-Soldiers, or Fellow-Adventurers with those who came afterwards to be their Princes; did alwaies when they set a King over them, reserve great Rights and Priviledges to themselves; and particularly a claim to the greatest share of the Towns and Lands which were conquered by them, as belonging to them by the same right, that the Crown had to that share of the Lands which fell to its lot: The Ancient Barons were by that means so powerful, that their Princes were not able to do any thing of a publick nature without their concurrence and consent: This, as we shall see hereafter, having never been given to the expelling of the *Moriscoes*, made the doing of it to be as illegal as it was inhuman: And to satisfie the Curious Reader that it was so, I think it will not be improper in this place, to give

give him a ſhort account of the Government of *Aragon*, to which *Valentia* belonged; as it was conſtituted when it was firſt erected into a Monarchy.

The People that recovered *Aragon* from the *Moors*, finding it moſt convenient for them to be under a Kingly Government, did, before they choſe a King, for the ſecurity of their Properties and Liberties under that Form of Government, make ſeveral Laws and Conſtitutions, which their Kings before they were acknowledged to be ſuch, were to ſwear to obſerve inviolably.

1. That the King ſhould not do any thing of a publick nature, without the conſent of the *Three Armes*, or *Eſtates* in *Cortes* or *Parliament* aſſembled.

2. That there ſhould be for ever a Standing Magiſtrate, named by the Three Eſtates, with the Title of, *Juſtice of Aragon*; with full Autority to redreſs all the Grievances of the Subjects.

3. That in caſe the King deny to do Juſtice to any Subject, according to the Sentence of the *Juſtice*, that the Barons and Rich Men, upon Complaints being made to them thereof, ſhould aſſemble themſelves, and charge thoſe that held Lands of the Crown, not to pay their Rents, un-

til the Aggrieved Subject was relieved.

4. That it was not lawful for the King, without the consent of the *Three Armes*, to bring any Foreign Troops into the Kingdom; and in case he did, that it should be lawful for the Subjects to take up Arms, and to drive them out, tho' headed by the King in person.

Lastly, That in case the King did violate any of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, he might lawfully be deposed by the Subjects, who were to swear Obedience to him in the following Form of words;

Nis que valemus tanto como vos, os hazemus NueſtroRey y Sennor: com tal, que mos guardeys Nueſtros Fueros y Libertades è Sy no, no.

That is to say,

We who are as valuable as you, do make you our King and Lord, but upon condition, That you shall preserve our Laws and Liberties; and if not, not.

But to return to the *Moriscoes:*

After the forementioned Attempt, to have banished all the *Moriscoes*, in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, had miscarried, we hear little

little of them beſides loud Complaints of their Invincible Obſtinacy in their Infidelity, until the Year 1510; when upon *Ferdinand*'s having forced all the *Moriſcoes* in the Kingdom of *Granada*, either to be baptized, or to leave *Spain*; the Barons fearing leſt he might attempt to do the ſame in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, did oblige him in a Cortes aſſembled in that Year, to give his Royal Aſſent to the following Law; which is ſtill extant in the *Extravaganti*, *Fol.* 73.

We do by this Law and Statute Enact, That the Moriſcoes, *abiding or dwelling in Cities, or Royal Villages; or in any other Village, Places, or Countries, belonging to the Eccleſiaſticks, Rich-men, Nobles, Knights, or Citizens; or of any other perſons whatſoever, ſhall not be expelled, or turn'd out of them; neither ſhall they be baniſhed out of the Kingdom of* Valentia; *or out of any of the Cities, or Royal Villages thereof; neither ſhall they ever be forced to turn Chriſtians: And it is our farther Will and Pleaſure, That they ſhall not be hindred to Trade, or to buy and ſell, either among themſelves, or among Chriſtians, neither by us, nor by any of our Succeſſors, but ſhall enjoy all the ſame Liberties they have formerly enjoyed.*

But the Barons being sensible that there were some people that were continually calling upon their Princes to banish all the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*, if they would not turn *Christians*; and judging, that they could never do too much to secure the Kingdom against so fatal aBlow as that would be to it, they had it made a part of their Kings Coronation *Oath*, *That he should, upon no pretence whatsoever, expel the* Moriscoes, *nor force them against their wills, to be baptized; and that he should neither directly, nor indirectly, ever desire to be dispensed with as to the said Oath; or in case a Dispensation should be offered to him, that he should not accept of it; and that if he did, whatsoever should be done by him thereupon, should be null and void*: By which *Law* and *Oath*, so short sighted a thing is Human Providence, the Barons did reckon, that they had sufficiently secur'd *Valentia* from ever being depriv'd of so numerous and industrious a people, as the *Moriscoes* were.

But the Commons of *Valentia* having in the Year 1520. taken up Arms, and driven all the Nobles, and all the King's Officers out of the Kingdom: The first thing the Commons did after they had taken the Government into their wild hands, was to command all the *Moriscoes*, by a Publick Proclamation, upon Pain of Death to be baptized

baptized ſo ſoon as that Proclamation came to their knowledge: which was done by the Commons, more out of ſpight to the Barons, by whom the *Moriſcoes* had been ſo long protected, notwithſtanding their Infidelity, than out of any true Zeal for Religion: But upon whatever Motive that Proclamation was ſet forth by the Commons, the *Moriſcoes* apprehending that they had no other way to ſecure their Lives under ſuch a furious Government, but by complying with it in this Matter, they were baptized every where in ſuch vaſt numbers, that it was verily believ'd, that there was not a *Moriſco* left unbaptized in the whole Kingdom.

By theſe forced *Baptiſms*, the Controverſy about their Validity was revived again; ſome Divines holding them to be valid, and others denying them to be ſo, for not having been voluntary; which they could not be ſaid to have been, having been received to avoid preſent Death.

The Emperor *Charles* the V*th.* having reduced the Commons to obedience, called an Aſſembly of the *Clergy* to determine this difficult Point; in which Aſſembly, the Inquiſitor General being Preſident of it, it was concluded, That though the Commons had done ill, in compelling the *Moriſcoes* to be baptized, thoſe *Baptiſms* were neverthe-

less so valid, as to oblige all that had received them, to profess the *Christian Faith*, and to make them liable to the Punishments due to *Apostates*, if they return'd to their former Infidelity: Which *Determination* was justifi'd by the 57th *Decree* of the 4th *Council* of *Toledo*, held in the *Æra*, 671; in which *Decree* the *Fathers*, after having condemned the forcing of Infidels to receive *Christian Baptism*; *Because God has mercy on whom he will have mercy; and whom he will, he hardneth:* did nevertheless declare, That the *Jews*, who in the *Æra* 1649, and who were reckoned to have been ninety thousand grown people, had been forced by King *Sisebut* to receive *Christian Baptism*, were, notwithstanding the cumpulsion, obliged to continue in the profession of the *Christian Faith*.

It is necessary, saith the Decree, *that they be constrained to hold the Faith, notwithstanding they were at first forc'd to embrace it; that the Name of God may not be blasphemed; and the Faith they embraced may not become vile and contemptible.*

When this Determination was made publick, it raised a mighty disturbance in *Valentia*, vast numbers of the *Moriscoes*, dreading the Thoughts of being brought under the Jurisdiction of the Inquisition as *Christians*, declaring thereupon, That they had never

never been baptized, but had only profeſs'd *Chriſtianity*, to avoid the Fury of the Commons.

The Inquiſitors not being able, by reaſon that the *Moriſcoes*, who had been baptized in vaſt Crowds, had not been regiſtred. to diſprove this Pretence, did petition the Emperor to deſtroy it; by commanding all the *Moriſcoes*, who did own their having been baptized, to be confirmed; and to command thoſe who affirmed, that they had never been baptized, upon pain of perpetual ſlavery or baniſhment, to receive that Sacrament immediately.

But the Emperor being bound by an *Oath* never to do that, nor to deſire, accept of, or make uſe of any diſpenſation of that *Oath*, a Diſpenſation was ſent to him by *Pope Clement* the VIIth. in the Year, 1524, whereby he was releaſed from the whole of that *Oath*, in the following Words.

And we do further releaſe Your Majeſty, from the Obligation of the Oath which we are informed was taken by you in the Genoral Eſtates of the ſaid Kingdoms and Principalities, never to expel the ſaid Infidels; abſolving you from all Cenſures, and Penalties of the guilt of Perjury, which you might incur thereby; and diſpencing with you, as to that Promiſe, ſo far as it is

necessary: And we do further grant free and full power to the Inquisitors, to compel all that shall contradict the same, or prove refractory, by Ecclesiastical Censures, and other proper and lawful Methods, requiring the assistance of the Secular Arm, if it shall be judged necessary: All Apostolical Constitutions, and all Ordinances, Statutes, and Priviledges, of the said Kingdoms and Principality, to the contrary, notwithstanding, though confirmed by an Oath, and by an Apostolical Confirmation, or by whatsoever other Authority; and notwithstanding it should be provided, that a relaxation from the said Oath should not be desired, nor ever be made use of, if granted: And that the said Priviledges should never be by any means abrogated: And that whatsoever shall be done to the prejudice of the same, shall be held as null and void: And we do exhort your Majesty, by your Letters, to commit the Preaching of the Word of God to the said Moors, *inhabiting the said Kingdoms and Principality of* Catalonia, *to our beloved Sons, the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity; deputed, or to be deputed in the said Kingdoms and Principality, to open the way of Truth and Salvation to the Faithful. And in case the* Moors *do persist in the hardness of their Hearts, and in their perfidiousness, so as not to embrace the Faith of Christ, within a Term to be prefix'd by the Inquisitors, they shall be commanded, upon pain of perpetual*

Servitude

Servitude and Bondage, to depart out of the ſaid Kingdoms and Principality; which if they fail to do within the ſaid term, they ſhall be all Slaves, and ſhall be underſtood to be ſuch.

This Diſpenſation of the Popes, do's plainly diſcover to the World, how little all Laws, Statutes, and Oaths, though confirm'd by the *See* of *Rome*, do ſignify to the ſecurity of the Lives, Liberties, and Property of Subjects that are not Papiſts, under a Popiſh Prince: It being impoſſible for the Wit of Man to frame an Oath fuller to all thoſe purpoſes, than this was, that is here Diſpenſed with: for, beſides that, it contained a promiſe, never to deſire a Diſpenſation, or if a Diſpenſation ſhould be offer'd, not to accept, or make uſe of it: It contain'd a Declaration likewiſe, that whatſoever ſhould by virtue of any Diſpenſation, be done to the prejudice thereof, ſhould be null and void, to all Intents and Purpoſes. An Oath never to deſire a Diſpenſation, or to accept, or make uſe of one if offer'd; being a matter, the plenitude of the Papal Power, as we ſee by this, can Diſpenſe with, when ever it is for its advantage to do it.

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The Emperor was no ſooner unty'd from this branch of his Coronation Oath, than he commanded the chief Inquiſitor to ſend Preachers among the *Moriſcoes*, to Inſtruct them in the *Chriſtian Faith*: Sending the following Letter at the ſame time to all the *Moriſcoes*, to let them know what they muſt expect, if they did not preſently embrace it.

Know ye, that we being moved by the Grace and Inſpiration of Almighty God, are Reſolved, not to ſuffer any Religion beſides the Chriſtian, *to be Profeſſed within our Kingdoms and Dominions: Wherefore deſiring the Health and Salvation of your Souls, and to reſcue you from the Error and Impoſture you are under, we do beſeech, intreat, and command you all to turn Chriſtians, and immediately to receive the Water of Holy Baptiſm: To this our Command, if you ſhall yield a ready obedience, you ſhall enjoy all the Liberties and Franchiſes, that are by the Laws of theſe Kingdoms enjoyed by Chriſtians, and which ſhall be preſerved to you as to Faithful Subjects; but in caſe you do prove refractory, we will take ſome other courſe with you: And whereas we are immovably fix'd in this Reſolution, we would have you be ſenſible of the benefit we intend*

intend you thereby, and to conform your ſelves to God's Will and ours.

Dated at *Segovie*, the 13*th* of *September*, in the Year of our *Lord* 1525.

A Proclamation was ſet forth at the ſame time by *Germana*, the Queen Dowager of *Ferdinand*, Governor of *Valentia*, commanding all the *Moriſcoes*, under great Penalties, to hear the Preachers that were ſent to them; and commanding the Barons to oblige their *Moriſco* Vaſſals, to go to Church; and to make uſe of all the other means of Inſtruction.

A ſhort time having been allowed for the inſtructing of the *Moriſcoes* in the *Chriſtian Faith*, an Edict was publiſhed by the Emperor, commanding all the *Moriſcoes* that were not baptized, either to receive *Baptiſm* immediately, or to depart out of all the *Spaniſh* Dominions, upon pain of perpetual Servitude and Bondage.

The *Moriſcoes*, that did not own their having ever been baptized, perceiving that there was no remedy, but that they muſt either leave their Native Countries, or be Slaves in it, if they did not turn Chriſtians, the generality of them did receive *Baptiſm*, only about *Pianaguazil*, where the unbaptized were very numerous, they took up Arms

Arms to defend themselves against it; but having been quickly subdued, they were forc'd likewise to receive that Sacrament: So that after the Year 1526, there was not a *Morisco* left in *Spain*, that had not been baptiz'd.

As such forced Conversions as these must necessarily make work for the Inquisition; so that Court having now got all the *Moriscoes* directly under its Jurisdiction, did begin presently to exercise its customary Cruelties upon them; vast numbers of them being burnt every Year, for having apostatized from *Christianity* to the *Mahometan Sect.*

The Barons, whose original power was much lessened, since the late Rebellion of the Commons, notwithstanding they had been the chief Sufferers in it, whilst it lasted, did Petition the Emperor that a stop might be put to the Cruelties exercised by the Inquisition upon the *Moriscoes*, until they were better Instructed in a Religion, which they had been so lately compelled to profess: The Emperor judging this Petition of the Barons not to be unreasonable, he agree'd to it, and having Power from the Pope to do it, he suspended the Jurisdiction of the Inquisition as to the *Moriscoes*, until they were more fully Instructed in the *Christian Faith*, Ordering the chief Inquisitor

quiſitor at the ſame time, to ſend greater numbers of Preachers among them, and to charge them not to give over Preaching, until they had fully inſtructed and ſetled 'em in the true Religion: Among the Friers of this Miſſion, there was one *John Micon*, a *Dominican*, who having Preach'd a great many Sermons to little or no purpoſe, he did in a fit of Zeal, one day from the Pulpit, command the *Moriſcoes* that were his Auditors, to go and fetch a dead Body, that he might Raiſe it to Life, before their eyes, to confirm the Truth of the Doctrines he had Preached to them; but the *Moriſcoes* either having no Dead Body ready, or not daring to fetch one, becauſe if they had, they would thereby have diſcovered that they were at leaſt doubtful in the *Faith*; which, with the Inquiſition, is the ſame thing as to deny it; the Experiment was not try'd; and the Frier came down triumphant from the Pulpit, inſulting over the *Moriſcoes* as Infidels that were ſo ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the *Chriſtian Faith*, that they were not willing to ſee a Miracle wrought, to convince them of its truth, when he had offered, for that purpoſe, to have wrought one before their Eyes.

The Friers, and particularly *Micon*, the pretender to Miracles, growing weary of preaching to the *Moriſcoes*, did, according

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to their custom, fill the Court, and the whole Country with such loud Exclamations of their prodigious obstinacy in the *Mahometan Sect*, that the Inquisitors were let loose upon them again, as the only Apostles that had the right Methods of converting such Infidels, if it was possible to convert them to the Faith; under whose severe Discipline of Racking, Whipping, Banishing and Burning, the *Moriscoes* having continued for several Years, the Barons in a *Cortez* assembled at *Mocon*, in the Year 1534, complained of those Severities; representing it as a very unjust thing in the Inquisition, to punish those who had been so lately forced to be baptized, when convicted of Apostacy, with the same Rigors that they did old Christians, who had been born and bred in the Faith, that were found guilty of the same Crime: And having no hopes of being able a second time to procure a suspension of the Authority of the Inquisition, they laboured hard to obtain a thing that they reckoned was next door to it: Which was; That the Inquisitors in consideration of the Sum of Fifty Thousand Soldos, that should be paid to them yearly, by the Communities of the *Moriscoes*, should have no share either in the Real or Personal Estate of any *Morisco* that was condemned by them; their Real Estates being to

to go to their Lords, and their Perſonal to their Heirs at Law: By which Bargain, to which the Inquiſitors were with much a do brought to agree, the Barons did hope the edge of their Zeal, againſt the *Moriſcoes*, would be very much abated, by not being continually whetted by covetouſneſs, as it had been before; whilſt they were in a manner Heirs to all that they condemned.

But tho this agreement with the Inquiſition was made wholly by the Power and Intereſt of the Barons, it was afterwards objected againſt the *Moriſcoes* as an evidence of their being *Hereticks* or *Infidels*; *Becauſe none but ſuch*, ſaid the Inquiſitors, *would pay ſo much money yearly, on purpoſe to mitigate the Puniſhments of Hereticks and Apoſtates.*

In a Letter written by *Lewis Bertram*, a *Dominican* Frier in the Year, 1579. to the Duke of *Neguiera*, Vice-Roy of *Valentia*, we meet with an account of the State the New Converts were in at that time, and of the Methods that Frier, who has been beatifi'd by the Pope, did judge to be the moſt proper to make them true Catholicks.

Frier

Frier *Bertram's* Letter to the Duke of *Neguiera.*

Most Illustrious and Excellent Lord,

HAving *first commended the Affairs of the New Christians to God, the great hardness of heart that is in most of them, I pray God it be not in them all, being supposed, and that they are all Hereticks, or which is worse, Apostates, who do plainly discover an Aversion for the* Christian Religion, *and do, so far as they are able, observe all the Rites of* Mahomet's Alcoran; *keeping their Children also from being* Christians, *when they find them disposed to it, and it; being supposed likewise, that tho' it is now about fifty years since they were all Baptized, that they are as far as ever they were from being true* Christians; *all these things I say, being supposed, and that Mild, and Merciful Methods will never do any good with them; My Opinion is, that the Secular and Ecclesiastic Princes ought to use one of these two Remedies with them. First, to oblige them by Rigorous Punishments, to observe the* Christian Religion, *and to forsake the Sect of* Mahomet, *neither is their having been forc'd in the times of the Communities, and since, to be Baptized, sufficient to keep them from being treated after such a manner: for notwith-*

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notwithſtanding that was not well done, and I would to God it had never been; the conſequences thereof having taught us abundantly how much better it would have been, to have obſerved the Cuſtom of the Church as it is well declared by St. *Thomas: Nevertheleſs, thoſe who were then compelled to be Baptized, did in ſome ſenſe conſent to it; and of the* Moriſcoes *that are now living, there is not one in twenty that has not been Baptized when they were Infants; and it is certain, from the determination of the Church, that ſuch may be obliged no leſs than old Chriſtians to obſerve the* Chriſtian Faith, *tho at the ſame time, if they ſhould turn Hereticks, or Apoſtates, I think they ought not to be Puniſhed as rigorouſly as if they were old* Chriſtians.

The Moriſcoes *muſt be made to loſe the* Arabick *Tongue, otherwiſe their Women and Children will not underſtand their Preachers and Confeſſors, and muſt be commanded under Pecuniary Mulcts not to ſpeak that Language; they muſt alſo be forced to go to Church on* Sundays *and* Holydays; *and no* Moriſca *Woman muſt have leave to marry before ſhe can repeat the* Chriſtian Doctrine.

The Second *Remedy, if the* Firſt *be not uſed; Is not to ſuffer the* Sacrament *of* Baptiſm *to be adminiſtred to the Children of any of the* Moriſcoes, *without taking them from their Parents; ſince it is morally certain, that*

if they continue with their Parents, they will make them all Apostates, being so themselves: And it is much better the Moriscoes *should always be* Mahometans, *than be either Apostates or Hereticks.*

Such Representations as these, of the Infidelity of the Moriscoes, coming from all Quarters, *Philip* the IId. who had the Secret of reconciling several Enormous Vices to a very hot zeal for Religion, was calling Assemblies continually, either at *Madrid*, or at *Valentia*, to find out ways to bring his *Morisco* Subjects to be true Christians. In one of those Assemblies, after a long and diligent enquiry into the true Causes of this Obstinacy of the *Moriscoes*, it was judg'd to flow chiefly from their having never been sufficiently instructed in the Christian Faith: the Fryers, who thorow several Ages, had been sent to preach to them, besides their having never had patience to stay long enough among them to instruct such vast numbers sufficiently in a new Religion, were generally so angry with the *Moriscoes*, for not being Converted by their first or second Sermon, that afterwards they did little else than rail at them and *Mahomet*, calling them obstinate Dogs, and *Mahomet* a Devil incarnate. And as to the Vicars, who had the Cure of their Souls,

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as their Benefices were very ſmall, ſo they were generally too mean Clerks, to be able to do Chriſtianity ſo great a Service. For the better inſtruction of the *Moriſcoes*, the King was therefore deſired to ſupplicate the Pope, to give way to the augmenting of their Vicaridges, and to the building and endowing of new Churches and Chappels among them, out of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of *Valentia*, to the encouraging of Prieſts, of Learning, Piety, and all other neceſſary Qualifications to accept of the *Moriſco* Curacies, and to continue and labour in them, to the inſtructing and edifying of their Souls.

The King having approv'd of this Advice, when it was offered him, did by his Ambaſſador at the Court of *Rome*, obtain a *Breve* from *Gregory* XIII. bearing date the 16th. of *June*, 1576. charging the Rents of the Archbiſhoprick of *Valentia* with a Yearly Penſion of three thouſand and ſix hundred Ducats, and all the other Biſhopricks, and Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, with Yearly Penſions in proportion to their Revenues towards the forementioned Pious Uſes.

This *Papal Breve* was ſo far from being of any advantage to the converſion of the *Moriſcoes*, that it may juſtly be reckoned

among the things that promoted their Expulsion.

The Archbishop and other Ecclesiasticks, whose Rents were already charg'd with considerable yearly Pensions, towards the defraying of the Charges of instructing the *Moriscoes* in the Christian Faith, being so provoked by this new and great Charge, that they did never give over soliciting their Princes to rid *Spain* of them, as of incorrigible Hereticks and Apostates, on whom all the means and charges of instruction, were Pains and Money thrown away; representing them as Rebels likewise, who had invited the *Moors*, *Turks*, *French*, *English* and *Dutch* to invade *Spain*, by Promises of assisting them to conquer it; and by assuring them, that it might be done with a great deal of ease, *Spain* having neither Men nor Money to defend her.

The Archbishop, that his having deny'd to pay this new Pension, and which, as we shall see hereafter, was never paid by him, nor by any of his Clergy, might not be thought to flow from his Covetousness, or from his want of Zeal to convert such a Multitude of Infidels within his Province to the Christian Faith, did at this time give out, That he would prefer no Clerk to the Benefices in his Gift, but from the *Morisco* Vicaridges; and that they who went among

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the *Moriſcoes*, and did take the moſt pains to inſtruct them, ſhould be conſidered by him above all others: And whereas by the Laws of *Valentia*, none that were not Natives, were capable of enjoying any Benefice in it with cure of Souls, that Law was diſpens'd with as to all the *Moriſcoe* Vicaridges; and Prieſts of any Nation were made capable of holding them. We do not read of the *Moriſco* Vicaridges having been filled with better or abler Clerks upon this Promiſe of the Archbiſhops, as it is probable they would, had their Rents been conſiderably augmented, as the King would have had them; neither do we read of any Prieſts coming from the other Kingdoms of *Spain*, upon their having been made capable of enjoying the poor *Moriſco* Vicaridges in *Valentia*: So that as to their Religion, the *Moriſcoes* of that Kingdom continued in much the ſame ſtate until the Year 1596; when the King having been inform'd, that to pardon the *Moriſcoes* all their paſt Apoſtacies, was the moſt likely way to make them true Chriſtians for the future, he obtained the following Edict of Grace of the *Pope* for that purpoſe.

An EDICT *of Grace.*

To our Venerable Brethren, the Archbishop of *Valentia*, the Bishops of *Tortosa*, *Segorve*, and *Origuela*, *Pope Clement* VIIIth Health, and Apostolical Bediction.

OUR most dear Son in Christ, Philip, *the* Catholick *King of* Spain, *having proposed to us, That treading in the Footsteps of his Father*, Charles *the* Vth, *of Glorious Memory, he has with the Authority of the* Chief Pontiffs, *our Predecessors, laboured to have had the* Moriscoes *of* Valentia, *and other new* Converts *to* Christianity, *fully instructed in the* Catholick Faith, *and that having been assured by grave and honest men of the said* Moriscoes, *continuing still* Mahometans; *he does therefore humbly supplicate us to administer such Remedies as are most proper for the conversion of the said* Moriscoes, *or new* Converts; *in answer to which, we, according to our Pastoral Office, and Apostolical Authority, have not been wanting to administer such Remedies.*

But whereas during the time wherein those People are to be instructed; or during the time or times of Grace concerning which, Edicts will be Published, the said Moriscoes *or new Converts may, and we trust*

truſt in God's Mercy, *will frequent the Church, or, will at leaſt, at the time the Church hath appointed, go to the moſt healthful and neceſſary Sacrament of Penance, and may, peradventure confeſs in the Court of Conſcience, divers Sins, Tranſgreſſions, Sacriledges, and other Crimes, as alſo Hereſies, Errors, and Apoſtacy from the Faith; and the having obſerved the Rites and Ceremonies of the* Mahometan *Sect, or of the Law of* Moſes: *Wherefore, that ſufficient Authority may not be wanting, to abſolve thoſe in the Court of Conſcience who have been guilty of the ſaid, or the like Sins; We, who have nothing ſo much in our thoughts, as the careful reduction of ſtraying Sheep to the Fold of our Lord, earneſtly deſiring the aforeſaid true, ſincere, and perfect Converſion of the ſaid* Moriſcoes, *or New Converts, and the Removal of all the Impediments which may any ways hinder, or retard the ſame, confiding in the Prudence, Piety, and Zeal for the Holy Catholick Faith, which are in every one of you, do grant Faculty, Authority, and Power, to all, and every one of you, but within your own Dioceſes and Juriſdictions, only to Name and Depute, ſome Pious, Prudent and Holy Prieſts, who are Doctors of Divinity, or Doctors of Canon Law, or Preachers of the Word of God, or others who are by their Learning, Lives, and Prudence, qualified and appointed to hear the Confeſſions of the*

Faithful, whether Seculars or Regulars of whatsoever Order, and as many as you shall judge to be necessary to hear the Confessions of the said Moriscoes *or New Converts, and of all such as have believed and encouraged them, and to absolve all such only in the Court of Conscience from all Heresies or Errors, or Apostasies from the* Christian Faith, *tho' often repeated, and notwithstanding they have been abjured in Judgment, and of all other such Sins, Excesses, and Crimes, and of all that have been occasioned by them, and for having read, and retained the Books of the* Mahometan *Sect, or which are otherwise Prohibited; and also of Hereticks who are involved in Ecclesiastical Censures, and from the Ecclesiastical Censures of the Excommunication, Suspension, and Interdict pronounced* de jure, or ab homine, *or on any Occasion or Cause, or in the other cases, which are any ways reserved to us, and the Apostolical See, those which are Read every Year, on the day of* Cœna Domini *not excepted, and notwithstanding they may have often committed the same, and have often relapsed; provided that they do not know of their being accused thereof in Judgment, or have not been condemned as Hereticks and Apostates; but shall, during the time or times of their instruction of this Grace, compear voluntarily before the Inquisitors, that they may provide faithful Medicines for them; on condition,*

tion, that during the ſaid time of Inſtruction, or times of Grace, they do with a ſincere Heart, and true Faith, confeſs themſelves, and humbly deſire and receive Pennance; and do anathematize and abjure their Apoſtacy from the Faith, and their ſaid Hereſies and Errors; humbly begging to be admitted into the Boſom of Holy Mother Church; and promiſing, with the uſual Oath, for the future, to abſtain from the like Apoſtaſies, Hereſies, and Errors; and have impoſed on every one of them at the pleaſure of the ſaid Confeſſor's, Healthful Pennances, according to the quality of their Faults and Exceſſes, and which ſhall be judged to be proper for the Medicine and Health of their Souls, provided they be not pecuniary.

By the Tenor of theſe Preſents, and with our Apoſtolical Authority, we do grant and confirm, that they may abſolve, reconcile and admit into the Boſom of Holy Mother Church, for the ſpace of Four Years only. All Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, Ordinances, Priviledges, Indults, and the Letters which are uſed to be read on the Day of Cœna Domini, *and other Apoſtolical Letters whatſoever: As alſo all Conſtitutions to the Inquiſitors of* Spain, *of what ſort ſoever they are, granted, approved, or renewed, to the contrary notwithſtanding,* &c.

If

If the Four Years of Grace, granted by this Edict to the *Moriscoes*, did commence from the date of the Edict, as it is more than probable it did, above one half of that term was elapsed, before the *Moriscoes* could reap any benefit by it; which they could not do until it was published in *Valentia*; which we are certain it was not, from the following Letter of *Philip* the IIId. till after the 6*th* of *August*, 1599. Whereas the Edict was dated at *Rome* on the 28*th* of *February*, 1597.

Philip *the* IIId's *Letter to the Bishop of* Valentia.

Reverend Father in Christ, and Bishop of my Council.

THE *Inquisitor General has sent me a Subdelegation, which he hath made to the Inquisitors of his Holiness's Breve for the Edict of Grace, which he will grant to the New Converts of this my Kingdom of* Valentia; *in which there is a Clause, that he shall with your concurrence, and that of the other Prelates in their several Districts name Commissaries. I have remitted it to him again, with my Letter and Order, that he should communicate it to you and the rest of the Prelates, concerning*

cerning the nomination of the ſaid Commiſſaries, and the publication and execution of the ſaid Edict of Grace. *Ido deſire and charge you to apply your ſelf to this Affair, with that efficacy and warmth, as your Office, and the zeal and care you have always diſcovered for ſo holy a Work, which is ſo much for the good of thoſe People, and the ſervice of our Lord, obligeth you to , which will be well taken of you by me.*

Dated at *Denia*, the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1599.

We are not any where told the reaſon why the Publication of this Edict of *Grace* was deferred ſo long, only it appears from this Letter of the King's, that two years and a half after that Edict, was, upon the Supplication of *Philip* II. granted by the Pope, the Inquiſitor-General, and the Biſhops of *Valentia*, to whom the nomination of the Comiſſaries who were to Publiſh that Edict was left, had not named 'em, and that at laſt the King was forc'd to interpoſe his Authority, and require them to do it.

What was the Succeſs of this Edict of Grace, and how they who were entruſted with its Execution ſtood affected to the *Moriſcoes*, will plainly appear by the Memorials,

morials, which immediately after its expiration were given in to the King by the Archbishop of *Valentia*; the substance of which Memorials I shall here set down in that Prelat's own words.

In his first Memorial Presented to the King, in *January*, 1602. he begins thus; 'Being compelled by the Love, which, as 'a most Faithful Subject, and humble Chaplain, I have for your Majesty's Service, and 'for the Preservation and Augmentation of 'your Royal Crown, I could not forbear 'to acquaint your Majesty with my 'Thoughts of the Affair of the *Moriscoes*; 'humbly beseeching your Majesty to re'ceive them with your customary Clemen'cy and Benignity. As to the *Moriscoes* of '*Valentia*, we do certainly know them to 'be all *Mahometans*, and that as far as they are 'able, they do observe all the Rites of 'the *Alchoran*, and do despise all the Laws 'of the *Catholick Church*: For besides all the 'former Evidences we had of this, they have 'now given us a fresh Evidence of it, since 'the *Edict of Grace* was published among 'them; in that we have not been able to 'persuade one of that Race to make use of it: 'for I did plainly discover by the Confer'ences I my self had with their chief Men, 'that they are all in correspondence one with

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'another, and did all ſpeak, as it were, with 'the ſame Mouth; the Anſwer they uni-'verſally gave us, being, *That they were* 'true Chriſtians, *and did intend to continue* 'ſo: *That they had learnt the* Chriſtian Do-'ctrine, *or* Catechiſm *when they were Chil-'dren, and did ſend their Children to learn it:* 'That they confeſſed themſelves to their Cu-'rates, *and had never concealed any of their* 'Sins in Confeſſion: *That they knew of none* 'that lived in the Mahometan *Sect, and were* 'not at leiſure to pry into peoples Converſations, 'or into what they did in their Families: And 'when upon having received theſe Anſwers 'from them, I have convicted them of having 'lyed to me, they did then either remain 'ſilent, or did repeat the ſame Anſwers a-'gain. The *Mahometan* Faſt, which hap-'ned to be at that very time, was kept by 'them with greater ſtrictneſs than they had 'ever obſerved it before; as were alſo all 'the other Rites and Solemnities of that Sect. 'This is a true account of what paſſed in 'my Biſhoprick; in which ſix Women 'only gave any ſign of being reduced; and 'whom we had no great reaſon to truſt nei-'ther, Experience having taught us, that 'when they are at anytime diſcontented with 'their Parents, or Husbands, that they will 'then, in a Paſſion, pretend to turn Chriſti-'ans, but without having ever ſeriouſly in-

'tended

'tended to do it; and I have been so often 'deceived by them, that I am come now 'not to trust them, unless they do give me 'very good Pledges of their Sincerity, which 'few of them care to give, and when ur-'ged to it, do commonly discover their 'Hypocrisy. He goeth on;

'If *Spain* was formerly lost in the time 'of King *Rodrigo*, by one single person's 'going over to the *Moors*, in how great 'danger must *Spain* be in now, when it ap-'pears from the Lists that were taken in the 'late King's Reign, that there were 90000 '*Moriscoes* in this Kingdom, that were able 'to bear Arms; and who having been all 'born and bred among us, are perfectly ac-'quainted with our whole Coasts and Coun-'try; and who being all extremely desirous 'of living under a Government which will 'allow them Liberty of Conscience; and 'being withal unwilling to leave *Spain*, be-'cause of its fertility, are always prepared 'to serve any Tyrant, that will but suffer 'them to enjoy the free exercise of their Re-'ligion? So that *Spain* by having such peo-'ple in it, is not only in danger from the '*Barbary Moors* and *Turks*, but from the '*English* also, and from all the other Enemies, 'of the Catholick Religion, and the Crown 'of *Spain*; and especially at this time, when 'the Sect of the Politicians prevail so much,

'who

who do permit Subjects to chooſe their own Religion. Conſider therefore, now, that the Crown of *Spain* is ſo generally hated on the account of its Zeal for the Catholick Religion, and out of Emulation at its Proſperity, whether it is not poſſible 'that an Enemy ſhould be encouraged to in-'vade us, by having ſo many among us, 'to joyn with them, and who being, as 'they reckon, provoked and wronged by us, 'will fight furiouſly againſt us for their 'Eſtates and Religion. All this, ſaith he, is 'ſo manifeſt, that we can never wonder 'enough that ſuch Wiſe and Valiant Kings, as '*Charles* V. and *Philip* II. and who had 'ſuch Zealous and Experienced Councel-'lors, having deferred the remedying of ſo 'great an Evil. In a ſecond Memo-rial, which he delivered to the King, with-in a Month after the former, he tells the 'King, That the Remedy for great Evils, 'Spiritual or Temporal, was to pluck them up 'by the Roots at once: This Doctrine, ſaith 'he, is taught us by the Holy Scriptures, in 'which there is nothing ſo often repeated, 'and ſo much inculcated, and particularly, 'on Kings, who ought to be the Miniſters 'and Executioners of God's Will; and to 'look after the Good, and Peace of their 'Subjects: So the firſt Rulers that were ap-'pointed of God, were commanded by

'him

'him to maintain their Subjects in Peace,
'and to destroy all the Cities of their Ene-
'mies, and all the Inhabitants thereof. The
'first King of *Israel* was likewise commanded
'to destroy the *Amalekites*, and to spare the
'life of neither Man, Woman, nor Sucking
'Child; which he having forbore to do, he
'fell under the Wrath of God for it, and was
'deprived of his Kingdom. The Second
'King who was *David*, was commanded to
'destroy the *Philistins*, which he did. From
'which Examples it is manifest, that your
'Majesty, as King, and Supreme Lord, is
'bound in Conscience to Defend and Pre-
'serve your Kingdoms, which you cannot
'do if yo do not Banish all the *Moriscoes*,
'Men, Women, and Children out of them; on-
'ly the Children, Male, and Female, that are
'under seven years of age may be detain'd,
'and dispersed among the old Christians.
'And it is the Opinion of Learned Men
'that your Majesty may Lawfully make all
'those Children Slaves; neither would your
'Majesty in Banishing all the *Moriscoes* out
'of *Spain*, do a thing that was never
'done before by any of your Ancestors;
'your Majesty's Catholick Ancestors ha-
'ving in the Year 1592, expelled all the
'*Jews* out of *Spain*, to the number of four
'and twenty thousand Families.

Your

'Your Majeſty's Grand-father, *Charles* V. 'did likewiſe command all the *Moriſcoes* to 'depart out of theſe Kingdoms if they 'would not be Baptized; that Emperor ho-'ping, that by having Baptized them, they 'would, of Enemies, become our Friends, 'which that was ſo far from doing, that 'they became more our Enemies than they 'had been before; ſo that we have all great 'cauſe to lament its having ever bin done. 'Neither will your Majeſty in Expelling 'all the *Moriſcoes*, do any more than our 'Chronicles tell us has been done ancient-'ly in *Spain*. King *Siſebut* having in the 'Year, 614. commanded all the *Jews* in '*Spain* to be Baptized, upon pain of per-'petual Baniſhment; and upon thoſe *Jews* 'having afterwards Apoſtatiſed, King *Egy-'ra* made complaint thereof, to the Council 'at *Toledo*, which Decreed, that the E-'ſtates of all thoſe Apoſtates were Forfeit-'ed to the King; and the ſaid Council of '*Toledo*, did Praiſe God, and King *Cinthila-'na*, for the Reſolution he had taken, of 'not ſuffering any that were not *Catholicks*, 'to live in *Spain*.

'All this I lay at your Majeſty's Feet, ha-'ving been moved to trouble you with it, 'for the promotion of God's, and your 'Majeſty's Service, and to acquaint you 'with the eminent danger *Spain* is in. Where-

'fore, as your Majesty's most Faithful Subject and Chaplain, I do humbly supplicate you, to lay this Affair of the *Moriscoes* before your Council, as the weightiest of your whole Government, and that the Resolution which shall be taken, may be speedily Executed: For the *Moriscoes* do encrease in number daily, and we do decrease, so that in a few years they will be more in number than the old *Christians*; for at the same time that there are abundance of Towns in Old *Castile*, and *Andalusia* quite Depopulated and Ruined, the Towns of the *Moriscoes* are Flourishing, and full of People; so that your Majesty, in Expelling all the *Moriscoes*, will do a thing worthy of your self, and that will give you the Honour of having Conquer'd *Spain* a second time.

And in a Third Memorial, deliver'd to the King by the same Archbishop a few weeks after, he declared, that tho' at the writing of that he was 72 years old, he was afraid, that if his Majesty did not drive all the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain* quickly, that he might live to see it ruined a second time by the *Moors*.

But the Archbishop was not satisfied with having thus vehemently solicited the King to expell all the *Moriscoes*, but he did farther take upon him to direct the King how it might

might be executed; telling the King in a Paper he put into his hands preſently after the former Memorials;

'That after having thought much on 'the Affair of the *Moriſcoes*, and recom- 'mended it to God, and conſulted the Scrip- 'tures, and divers grave and Learned Men 'about it; What he had to offer to his Ma- 'jeſty was, that his Majeſty ſhould com- 'mand an Information of all Hereſies and 'Apoſtacies, to be taken by the Biſhops and 'Curates of all the Cities and Towns 'wherein any *Moriſcoes* lived, who muſt 'be examined whether they do go to Con- 'feſſion, and do Communicate, and whe- 'ther they do eat Swine's Fleſh, and 'drink Wine, and it may be enquired, whe- 'ther they do not very much encreaſe and 'multiply, and have not an abhorrence 'for *Chriſtians*, and an affection for *Maho- 'metans*, and are not diſpoſed to joyn with 'any Prince that will allow them the Liber- 'ty of their Conſciences: And if upon ſuch 'an Information's being taken, the *Moriſ- 'coes* ſhould be found guilty, as they cer- 'tainly will, they may thereupon be Con- 'demned to loſe all their Goods, and to per- 'petual Baniſhment out of the Kingdom, 'within a prefix'd term, and which ought 'to be ſhort.

'And tho it is true, that thorough the notoriety of their guilt, the taking of such 'an Information is not in the rigor of Justice 'necessary, nevertheless, since the taking 'of it will tend to the justification of your 'Majesty's proceeding with the *Moriscoes*, it 'is convenient that it should be taken: neither will any then be able to condemn the 'foresaid Sentence which will be agreeable both to the Canon and Civil Law; 'according to which, in this case, the confiscation of their Goods, and their banishment will be Graces, and not Rigors; 'since upon being convicted of Heresies, and 'not only so, but of being *Dogmatists* in Heresy, in breeding up their Children in the '*Mahometan Sect*, they might justly have 'been punished capitally. Neither can it 'be pretended, that there is any injustice in 'condemning the *Moriscoes* thus, without 'hearing what they have to say in their 'own defence, since the evidence and notoriety both of the Fact and the Law does 'supply that defect; and would supply it abundantly, though they were to be punished capitally; it being most certain, that a 'Prince, when both the Crime, and the 'necessity of punishing it are notorious, 'may omit all Judicial Forms, and especially when they cannot be safely observed, 'as they cannot in this case; in which to

'prevent

'prevent publick diſturbances, it is neceſ-
'ſary, that the Sentence and its execution
'ſhould go together: And though it may
'not ſeem to be ſo proper for one of my Pro-
'feſſion, as for your Majeſty's Council of
'State, who muſt have the Example of the
'Expulſion of the *Jews* before them, to give
'directions about the Expulſion of the *Mo-*
'*riſcoes*, I ſhall nevertheleſs humbly offer my
'Thoughts to your Majeſty concerning it;
'Which are, That it muſt not be attempted
'without having a good Army and Fleet in
'readineſs, to prevent Inſurrections. And
'I have always reckoned your Majeſty's un-
'proſperous Attempt upon *Algiers*, to have
'been a particular Providence of God, gra-
'ciouſly diſpoſing things for your Majeſty's
'advantage: Now that Loſs will ſerve for a
'blind for your Majeſty's Preparation by
'Sea and Land, to expel all the *Moriſcoes*;
'the World being of opinion, that that At-
'tempt upon *Algiers*, having been your
'Majeſty's firſt Enterprize, you will not ſit
'down with that Loſs. Your Majeſty may,
'if you pleaſe, take four thouſand of the
'ſtouteſt young Men among the *Moriſcoes*,
'and under a pretence of employing them
'in your Service, ſend them to your Gal-
'lies, as *Heraclius* the Emperor did with the
'*Saracens*: you may alſo ſend ſome thou-
'ſands of them to your Mines in the *Indies*,

'and so go on consuming them, and preserving your old Christian Subjects.

'And though it is sufficient to engage your 'Majesty to rid *Spain* of all the *Moriscoes*; 'only to let you know that you are bound 'in Conscience, and under the pain of a 'Mortal Sin to do it; nevertheless, since 'the expelling of them will be attended 'with both great Spiritual and Temporal 'Advantages, I cannot forbear laying some 'of them before your Majesty.

1. *The* Prelates *and* Curates *will thereby be free'd from the Scruples they are under; and which if they understand any thing of Divinity, they cannot but have, to baptise those they know will be Apostates.*

2. *Your Majesty, by selling all the Children of the* Moriscoes *that are under seven years old, who are reckoned to be above five and thirty thousand, will both receive a good sum of Money, and will gain a great many Subjects, who being sold to old Christians, will all become Catholicks; and having lost the Language, Habit, and Ceremonies of the* Mahometans, *will learn and observe those of our Faith.*

3. *Your Majesty may either send the strongest men among them to your own Gallies, or sell them to old Christians, among whom they cannot use the* Mahometan *Ceremonies, without being observed, but a special care must be taken,*

ken, not to ſuffer any of the Moriſco *Men or Women to remain in* Spain; *becauſe that will be of ill conſequence to the* Moriſco *Children, which are to be bred in it, in the* Chriſtian *Faith.*

On this occaſion, ſaith he, *I will repeat what I have often affirmed; which is, That your Majeſty may without any ſcruple of Conſcience, make Slaves of all the* Moriſcoes, *and may either put them into your own Gallies or Mines, or ſell them to Strangers; and whereas their number is very great, you may, after you have ſupply'd your own Gallies and Mines, ſell the reſt of them in* Italy: *And as to their Children, they may be all ſold at good rates here in* Spain; *which will be ſo far from being a puniſhment, that it will be a mercy to them; ſince by that means they will all become* Chriſtians; *which they would never have been, had they continued with their Parents: By the holy execution of which piece of Juſtice, a great ſum of Money will flow into your Majeſty's Treaſury.*

Laſtly, *The* Moriſcoes *being a laborious and induſtrious People, do by working cheaper than the* Spaniards *are able to work, eat the Bread out of the* Spaniards *Mouths; and being alſo very frugal and temperate, they do contribute very little to the Publick Exciſes.*

The Archbishop, when he was reckoning up the Profits which would accrue to the *Spaniards* by the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, might, if he had pleased, have mentioned the great Revenue that would return thereby to his own Archbishoprick, which had for a great many years been charged with a considerable Pension, towards the maintenance of the *Morisco* Schools and Curacies; and which in the Year 1597, had by a *Breve* from the *Pope* been charged with a new yearly Pension of three thousand and six hundred Ducats towards the same Pious Uses: Upon which last Pension, not having been paid, the Archbishop at the same time he gave in these *Memorials*, was commanded by a second *Breve* from the same *Pope*, to pay the Arrear of the said Pension, which amounted to fourteen thousand and four hundred *Ducats*, towards the building of a College in the City of *Valentia*, for the instructing of *Morisco* Girls in the *Christian Faith:* To which new Foundation that the Archbishop was no great Friend, appears not only from his having never paid the said Arrear towards the building, but also from his having left out of the Copy of the *Papal Breve*, which was printed in *Spanish* at *Valentia*; all that was said in it of the Ancient *Morisco* College, having been of great advantage to those

thoſe People: *Which*, he ſaid, *was falſe; and that His Holineſs had been miſinform'd by thoſe that had told him ſo; the* Moriſcoes *who had been bred in that College, having turned afterwards as much* Mahometans, *as they could have been, had they never ſeen it.*

While the Archbiſhop was labouring thus to perſuade the King to rid *Spain* of the *Moriſcoes*, the Barons of *Valentia* having been inform'd thereof, did unanimouſly and paſſionately remonſtrate againſt it, as the greateſt Blow that could poſſibly be given to that Kingdom; whoſe Lands, they ſaid, muſt lie untilled, and all its rich Manufactures muſt come to nothing, if the *Moriſcoes* were turned out of it; by whom chiefly all thoſe Works were carried on: And having been acquainted with the Arguments that had been uſed by the Archbiſhop to perſuade the King to it, they repreſented that of *Spain's* being in great danger by reaſon of its having ſo many *Moriſcoes* in it to be a meer Chimera or Dream; and which, when it had been formerly objected, had always been ſlighted as ſuch by his Majeſty's Wiſe Anceſtors, who were never governed by the Whimſies and Speculations of ſedentary and unexperienced people, though never ſo holy and learned; challenging the Archbiſhop and all others that accuſed the *Moriſcoes* of holding Intelligence with the Kings Enemies, to convict

convict them of that Treason upon a fair legal Tryal, that they might be justly punished for it; which they could not be barely upon a vehement declamation of their being all guilty of Treason.

And as to the Argument, That the *Moriscoes* were all *Mahometans*; the Barons answered, That they did not believe that they were all so; or if they were, to send them all into *Barbary* would be no good way to convert them to the *Christian Faith*; adding farther, That if the *Moriscoes* were all *Mahometans*, their being so was owing chiefly to their ignorance of the *Christian Faith*; and to the Rigors and Violences wherewith they had been treated, which had made them hate both Christians, and their Religion; and which had hindred them, after they were forced to be baptized, from communicating their Doubts and Scruples to those who might have removed them.

They did therefore beseech his Majesty, not to suffer such severe and rigorous Methods to be used with them any longer, but to plant Preachers among them, who would by tender and gentle methods insinuate themselves into their Affections; and after that was once done, the converting of them to Christianity, they said, would be found to be no hard work: Giving the Four following Reasons why this Course, which

they

they affirmed had never yet been tryed with the *Moriſcoes*, ought to be taken.

Firſt, Becauſe the *Moriſcoes*, by having been Baptized by Force, and as it were, dragg'd into the Church by the hair of the Head, were ſo Prejudic'd againſt *Chriſtians*, on the account of that and other conſequent Violences which they had uſed with them, that until that Prejudice was removed, it would not be found poſſible to reconcile them to *Chriſtianity*; it being natural for all People not to have any regard to the words of thoſe they hate, and do reckon to be their Enemies: therefore all that are ſent to Preach to the *Moriſcoes*, ought to treat them with the ſame tender Affection wherewith St. *Paul* treated the *Galatians* after they had Apoſtatized from the Faith which he had taught them.

Secondly, The *Moriſcoes* being a Rude and Ignorant People, ought for that reaſon to be treated with the more mildneſs, by thoſe that endeavour'd to Convert them to the *Faith*: So *John* the *Baptiſt* did not treat the Soldiers that came to hear him, with the ſame Severity he treated the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, neither did our Lord treat the *Gentiles* and *Samaritans* ſo Rigorouſly as he did the *Jews*: But commanded his Diſciples to go among the *Gentiles* as *Sheep* among the

Wolves

Wolves, that they might gain their Hearts by their Mild, and Innocent Behaviour: wherefore, in order to the Reconciling of the *Moriscoes* to the Persons of *Christians*, they desir'd that two things might be done.

1. That the *Moriscoes* might be Comforted and Encouraged, by being assured, that the misery they were under at present for being *New Christians*, would be taken away when ever they did turn *True Christians*, and that notwithstanding they were the last that had come into the Lord's Vineyard, they might so demean themselves therein, as to have an equal Reward with those who had been in the Vineyard before 'em.

2. That such of the *Moriscoes* as were believed to be *True Christians*, might have Offices and Honours conferred on them, and might enjoy all the same Priviledges and Immunities which are enjoyed by *Old Christians*.

3. That since the Mysteries of the *Christian Faith* were things of such a nature, as could not be believed without a Pious Affection in the Will, inclining the Understanding to the belief of them; therefore in order to the Converting of the *Moriscoes* to the *Christian Faith*, such Methods ought to be used as are proper for the begetting of such a necessary and Pious Affection in their Wills;

Wills; which it was certain, could never be done by Force or Violence, the Will being a Faculty that Cannot be Forc'd: So that tho' Force both might, and ought to be uſed in ſuch caſes, for the removing of all outward Impediments to Peoples embracing of the Faith, it ought not to be uſed to force the Will; or if it were, it was to no purpoſe, for they could not be conſtrained by it; to forſake a Religion wherein they believed their Forefathers had been Saved, to embrace another Religion, the evidences of whoſe credibility, they, through the lowneſs of their Capacities, were not able to Underſtand.

Laſtly, That the *Moriſcoes* being all but young Chriſtians in the *Faith*, ought to be cheriſhed, and handled tenderly; and all that are employed in the Converting of them ought like skilful Phiſicians, not to conſider only the Malignity of their Diſtemper, but the Strength alſo of their Patients, and not to Adminiſter Medicines to them which are ſtronger than they can bear.

And whereas the *Moriſcoes* were accuſed of giving Intelligence to the *Mooriſh* Pirates, where they might come a-ſhore, and meet with a good Booty, the *Barons* did, in the name of the *Moriſcoes*, offer to Redeem all the Captives, which ſhould at any time be carry'd off the Land of *Valentia*, by any of the

Mooriſh,

Mooriſh Pirates, at the coſt of the *Moriſcoes*.

By theſe Remonſtrances of the *Barons*, made in a *Cortes*, in the Year, 1604. The King ſeem'd to be determin'd not to Expell the *Moriſcoes*, but to go on, endeavouring to make them all *True Chriſtians*; and in order thereunto, ſo ſoon as the *Cortes* was over, he Diſpatched *Don Franciſco de Queſada* to *Rome*, with an Honourable Sallery, to Negotiate the Affair of their Converſion with the Pope, who at that time was *Paul* V. and from whom *Queſada* procur'd a *Breve*, Commanding the forementioned *Moriſco* Colledge to be Built, and Endowed, and the *Moriſco* Curacies to be made an hundred pounds a-piece yearly, to encourage Men of Learning and Probity to ſupply them. But this *Breve* of *Paul* V. had the ſame ill Succeſs with the two former *Breves* of his Predeceſſor, which had Commanded the ſame Endowments and Augmentations to be made.

The repeated Diſobedience to ſo many *Papal Breves*, is enough to encline one to ſuſpect, that the Popes, by whom thoſe *Breves* were granted, tho' they did not know well how to deny them to the Kings when they Supplicated to have them, were not very zealous to have them Executed; becauſe, if they had, they would never

never have endured to have had their Authority baffled thus, and eſpecially in ſo great and tender a Point as this of their having a Right to apply all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, as they ſhall judge to be moſt for the Intereſt of the whole Church; and in a caſe too wherein their Authority in ſuch an application, was backed by the Kings. But whether the Popes, by whom all theſe ineffectual *Breves* were granted, were thus ſecretly minded or not, it is certain theſe *Breves* were entertained by the Archbiſhop, as if he had known them certainly to have ſtood ſo affectd as to their Execution; and who did therefore, inſtead of advancing the Arrear due on the Account of the laſt Penſion wherewith his Biſhoprick had been charged, give a Memorial to the King, wherein he pretended to reply to all the Anſwers which had been given by the *Barons* to his Arguments for the Expelling of the *Moriſcoes* out of *Spain*.

1. To the *Barons* having Challenged thoſe that accuſed the *Moriſcoes* of holding a correſpondence with the King's Enemies; to Convict them of that Treaſonable Practice by a Legal Tryal, that they might be juſtly Puniſhed for it; the Archbiſhop Reply'd, that in a caſe wherein both the Law and the Fact were ſo notorious, there was

no

no need of observing the common Forms of Law and Justice. The *Moriscoes* Guilt in this case being Notorious, not only to his Majesty, but to all the *Old Christians* in *Spain*, who could not but observe the great Joy that was among the *Moriscoes*, when they heard of the *Turks*, or the *Moors* having obtained any Victories over the *Christians*, and particularly the *Spaniards*, and how that Treasonable Joy of theirs had never appeared so bareface'd, and so impudently, as on the occasion of his Majesty's late general Loss in his attempt upon *Algiers*.

2. To the *Barons*, having said, that the *Moriscoes* being young Plants in the *Faith*, ought for that reason to be tenderly handled and cherished; he reply'd, That the *Moriscoes* were not Young Plants, but old Barren Trees, that were full of Knots of Heresy and Treasons; the youngest of them having been planted in the Faith above fourscore years; and those about *Abula* and *Valedolid* had been planted in it ever since those Countries were taken from the *Moors*; and who were, notwithstanding that, as much *Mahometans* in their Hearts, as the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia*.

3. To the Barons having affirmed, That the *Moriscoes* had never been sufficiently instructed in the Christian Religion; he reply'd,

ply'd, That if their meaning was, that they were not ſufficiently inſtructed in the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, becauſe they would not learn them, that was very true; but if they meant, that they had never had ſufficient means of inſtruction, it was a great miſtake in them: And ſuppoſing it might be truly affirmed of ſome of the *Moriſcoes* of *Valentia*, That they had never had ſufficient means of Inſtruction, it could not be ſo affirmed of them all; or if it could of all the *Valentian Moriſcoes*, it could not of thoſe of *Aragon* and *Caſtile*; and who, for all that, were known to be in their Hearts as much *Mahometans*, as if they had been born, and had liv'd all their days in *Tunis:* And for the truth of this, the Archbiſhop made his Appeal to the Inquiſitors, who were ready to teſtify, That the *Moriſcoes* after having been for two or three Years daily inſtructed by them in the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, did remain as ignorant of thoſe Doctrines, as they were the firſt day they were taken up and impriſoned by them.

4. To the Barons having ſaid, That no other than ſevere and rigorous methods had ever been uſed with the *Moriſcoes*, to reconcile them to the Chriſtian Faith; he reply'd, That was moſt falſe, and was demonſtrated to be ſo by the late Edict of Grace, which had been granted to them to no purpoſe at

all: Affirming further, That the antipathy which was visible in all the *Moriscoes*, both for the Persons, and Religion of Christians, was too strong and too deeply rooted in their Hearts ever to be overcome by any good Offices.

Lastly, To the Barons having said, That to banish the *Moriscoes* into *Barbary*, was the way to make them all infallibly *Mahometans*: The Archbishop reply'd, That if the *Moriscoes* were not *Mahometans* already, though they should be all banished out of *Spain*, yet they needed not to go over to *Barbary*, but they might go into some other Christian Countries, as the *Spaniards* did that were banished: Whereas, if they were all already *Mahometans* in their Hearts, which they certainly were, it was much better that they should be so at *Tunis*, where their Example could do no hurt; than that they should be so in *Spain*, where it did much mischief; some Christians, and of Noble Families, having been lately perverted by their bad Example.

The Archbishop was seconded in these his Instances, by the Bishop of *Origuela*, who was one of his Suffraganes; who exhorted the King to destroy all the *Moriscoes*, as follows.

'A

'As it is notorious that the *Moriſcoes* did 'never embrace the Chriſtian Religion with 'their Hearts, ſo the great danger we old 'Chriſtians are all in, thorough our having 'ſuch vaſt numbers of thoſe Infidels among 'us; and thorow the Treaſons they are con-'tinually plotting againſt us, and the ran-'cor and hatred wherewith they do abomi-'nate both us and our Religion, and the 'affection they have for the *Moors* of *Africk*, 'and their great diligence to diſcover all 'our Secrets, that they may communicate 'them to the Enemies of the Chriſtian Com-'monwealth, ought to alarm a Chriſtian 'Prince, ſo as not to delay to ſecure *Spain* 'againſt ſuch Domeſtick Enemies; it being 'much better and ſurer, as Cardinal *Torque-'meda* obſerved, for us to deſtroy the *Mo-'riſcoes*, than to continue doubtful and ſcru-'pulous whether we may lawfully do it or 'not, until we are deſtroyed by them.

But the great Trumpeter to the Expulſion, was one *James Bleda*, a *Dominican Fryer*, who for ſeveral years was continually footing it betwixt the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, to excite the King and the People to turn all the *Moriſcoes* out of *Spain*, or to deſtroy them all in it; and as this hot-headed Frier did call all the Eccleſiaſticks that did not

bark against the *Moriscoes* as loud as he had done, *Dumb Dogs*; so he did assure all the old Christian Laity, that whenever the King should give the word, they might without any scruple of Conscience, cut the Throats of all the *Moriscoes*, and not to spare any of them upon their professing themselves Christians; but to follow the holy and laudable example of the *Croisado* that was raised against the *Albigenses*; who upon their having made themselves Masters of the City of *Bezeir*, wherein were two hundred thousand *Catholicks* and *Hereticks*, did ask Father *Arnold*, a *Cistercian Monk*, who was their chief Preacher, *Whether they should put any to the Sword that pretended to be Catholicks?* and were answered by the holy *Abbot*, *That they should kill all without distinction, and leave it to God, who knew his own, to reward them for being true Catholicks in the next World:* which was accordingly executed.

The same Advice with this of *Abbot Arnold's*, was given to the *Irish Papists* by *Con à Mahony*, an *Irish Jesuit*, in a Book printed by him at *Lisbon*, but which pretended to be printed at *Frankford*, in the Year 1645; in which Book we meet with the following *Exhortation* to his Countreymen; to cut the Throats of all the *Protestants* in *Ireland*.

My

My Dear Iriſh, *go on, and perfect the work of your Liberty and Defence, which is ſo happily begun by you, and kill all the Hereticks, and all that do aſſiſt and defend them: You have in the ſpace of four or five Years; that is, betwixt the Year* 1641, *and the Year* 1645, *wherein I write this, killed an hundred and fifty thouſand Hereticks, as your Enemies do acknowledge; neither do you deny it: And for my own part, as I do verily believe that you have killed more of them, ſo I would to God you had killed them all; which you muſt either do, or drive them all out of* Ireland, *that our Holy Land may be plagued no longer with ſuch a light, changeable, inconſtant, barbarous, ignorant and lawleſs Generation of People.* Neither was this *Jeſuit* one jot more merciful to the King than he was to his Proteſtant Subjects; concerning whom he ſaith in the ſame Exhortation: *We Catholick* Iriſh, *will not, nor never would, neither ought we to ſuffer our Country to be ruled by a proud King, who calls himſelf the Head of the Church: Let us therefore chuſe a Catholick King from among our own Brethren, and let us have* Iriſh *Catholick Judges and Magiſtrates to rule us in all Matters Temporal, and the Pope in all Matters Spiritual.*

But to return to the *Moriſcoes*:

The moſt Powerful Promoter of their Expulſion, was *Don Bernardo de Roias y Sandoval*,

doval, Cardinal, Archbishop of *Toledo*, and Inquisitor-General, and Chancellor of *Spain*. This great Prelate, who was Brother to the Duke of *Lerma*, by whom the King, for some years before, and for some years after the Expulsion was absolutely Governed; was so zealous to have the whole Race of the *Moriscoes* extinguished, that he opposed the detaining of their Children that were under seven years of Age; affirming, that of the two, he judged it more advisable to cut the Throats of all the *Moriscoes*, Men, Women, and Children, than to have any of their Children left in *Spain*, to defile the true *Spanish* Blood, with a mixture of the *Moorish*; and as it must be something more than ordinary that did carry a Prelate to *Rome* that was in such high Posts and Offices in *Spain*, and who had been a Cardinal for several years; so it is more than probable, that the business that carried this Cardinal Primate to *Rome*, in the Year 1607, was to engage the Pope, after the Example of his Predecessors, to promote the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, since they were not to be made *Christians*. For, whereas the Pope had, on the King's Supplication to him, dispatched a particulare *Breve* to every Bishop in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, to Assemble, and Consult together about the effectual means of Converting

verting the *Moriſcoes* to the *Chriſtian Faith*, thoſe *Breves* which bore date the 11th of *May*, 1606. and which were arrived at *Madrid* ſome Months before the Cardinal Primate began his Journey to *Rome*; were not delivered to the Prelates to whom they were directed before the 15th of *April*, in the Year, 1608. when the Cardinal Primate was returned home; and as we have reaſon to believe, with new Orders from the Pope, to the ſaid Prelates to Aſſemble together, not to Conſult about the moſt proper means of the *Moriſcoes* Inſtruction, according to the foremention'd *Breves*, but for to give the King a handle for the expelling of them all; and accordingly the *Valentian* Prelates, did after a Conſultation of ſome Months, come to the following Reſolution, which was privately remitted by them to the King.

The Moriſcoes *of the Kingdom of* Valentia *are all certainly* Apoſtates *from the* Chriſtian Faith, *and are withal, ſo Obſtinate and Pertenacious in their Infidelity, that there remains no hopes of ever being able to Convert them to it.*

Upon this Reſolution, being now come to Court, the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes* was abſolutely determined, tho' it was not

Executed till two years after, neither was its being determined known to any but the Cabinet Council, before the Veſpers of its Execution, when the King had put his Affairs in ſuch a Poſture, as not to fear any oppoſition that could be made to it by the *Barons*.

But though this Impolitick determination was owing chiefly to the Counſels of the Duke *de Lerma*, and his Brother, the Cardinal Primate; the thing that enclined the King, who was naturally Superſtitious and Timerous, to be ſo tamely led to it by his Miniſters, was, the loud and frequent calls, he was told from all parts, the Heavens gave him to it, both in Miraculous Signs and Judgments. For on this Occaſion all the old Fabulous *Spaniſh* Prodigies were revived and brought upon the Stage, and were with all other extraordinary appearances and events made Calls to, and Prognoſtications of the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes*, and all Publick Diſaſters and Plagues, were charged wholly to the account of its having been ſo long delay'd.

The Archbiſhop of *Valentia*, who left no ſtone unturned to bring about the Expulſion, attack'd the King on this blind ſide in one of the Memorials he gave unto him.

It is now, ſaith that Archbiſhop, than three ſcore and twelve years ſince I firſt went to ſtudy at *Salamanca;* and I do very well remember, that all the Learned and Grave Profeſſors of that Univerſity, did at that time blame the Careleſneſs of our Lord, the Emperor, and did all reckon, that God permitted the *Moriſcoes* to remain among us, to puniſh, if not to deſtroy us, for our Sins; and I do farther affirm, that from that day to this, I never heard any Holy, Religious, and prudent perſon, or one that was skill'd in the Arts of Peace and War, ſpeak of the *Moriſcoes*, that were not of the ſame mind concerning them: Nay, ſo univerſal is this Opinion, that upon all new Appearances of Comets in the Heavens, or in the Air, and upon the *Bell* of *Vilila*, having Rung it ſelf, and upon all publick Loſſes and Diſaſters, either by Sea or Land, all the *Old Chriſtians* do immediately cry out that *Spain* will be deſtroyed for ſuffering ſo many *Moriſcoes* to remain it it: Thus God is pleaſed by the univerſal voice of his People, to make his Will known to your Majeſty, as he uſeth to do in all ſuch caſes. The King was told likewiſe of prodigious Thunders and Lightnings, and of Tempeſts, and Earthquakes that had been in ſeveral parts of *Spain*, and of its having being legible in all of them, that they were

Judgments

Judgments on *Spain* for harbouring so many Infidels: And as to the ill success of the Invincible Armado, which was sent against *England*, in the Year 1588. The King was assured of its having been visibly a Judgment on the *Spaniards* on that very account: For God would never make use of the *Spaniards* to reduce Hereticks to the Bosom of the Church, so long as they suffered so many *Mahometan Apostates* to live among 'em: And the great Conjunction which was seen in the Heavens on the 24th. of *Decemb.* 1603 tho' it was seen all *Europe* over as well as in *Spain*, was said to have appeared for no other end, but to acquaint the King with God's intention, to make use of him to destroy the *Mahometan Sect*, with all its great Empires.

I do affirm, saith *Francisco Navarra*, in a Book dedicated to the King, that what can be gathered from the late strange Conjunction in the Heavens, is the diminution of the *Mahometan* Empire, and the great declination of that Sect within twenty years, that is, before the Year 1623, or the Year, 1624, at farthest is expired, and that before the Year 1661, that whole Empire will be at an end, and before the Year, 1854 or 56. the *Mahometan Sect* will be totally extinguished; neither is the beginning only, of so great a work, reserved to your Majesty,

ſly, as the Wiſeſt, and moſt Valiant of Kings, and the moſt firm Pillar of the *Faith*, and *Chriſtian Religion*, but the greateſt part of it is to be accompliſhed by you, your Majeſty being to Conquer vaſt Empires, and particularly the *Holy Land*, which at this time is in the hands of the *Mahometans*.

To this Glorious *Aſtrological Prediction*, if the King gave as much credit as he did to the *Bell* of *Vilila*, a Village in *Aragon*, having rung it ſelf for ſeveral days together, to Ring the Knell of the *Moriſcoes*, and to the other prodigious Calls to expell them; his having done that is not at all to be wondred at; the ſecuring of the Peace of their own Country, during their abſence, having been always the firſt care of all wiſe and great Conquerors, which care *Philip* would not have taken, had he, when he went to Conquer thoſe vaſt remote *Mahometan* Empires, and particularly, the *Holy Land*, left as many *Mahometans* behind him in *Spain*, as there were *Moriſcoes* in it. The Archbiſhop of *Valentia*, after having uſed all the Arts and Arguments that he could deviſe, to perſwade the King to Expell the *Moriſcoes*, apply'd himſelf to the Pope, to engage him to promote it: And not being able, by reaſon of his great Age to go to *Rome* in Perſon to ſollicit it, he

he writ to the Pope, and sent his Letter by a particular Envoy of his own, in which Letter he told the Pope what followeth.

'It is now, most Holy Father, seven and 'forty years since I, tho unworthy, was by 'the Grace of God and this Holy Apostol- 'lical See, promoted to the Dignity of a 'Bishop; two and forty whereof I have had 'the Charge of this Church: during all 'which time, tho' I my self in Person, and 'by the Ministry of Learned, Religious, and 'Holy Men, have try'd all ways possible to 'have Reduced the perfidious Hereticks, the '*Moriscoes* to the Bosom of the Holy 'Church; yet they have never continued 'any longer in the Faith, than from the day 'whereon they were Baptized, until the 'time they came to the use of Reason, to 'which they were no sooner arrived, than 'through the Instruction of their Parents, 'and of the other Ministers of that base 'Sect, they Apostatized from our Holy 'Religion, and with an astonishing obsti- 'nacy embraced the *Mahometan* Sect, and 'tis 'now above fourscore years since their An- 'cestors were Baptized.

'All of 'em that are now alive having been 'Baptized in the time of their Infancy; 'during all which time, Parochial Churches 'have been Erected in most of their Vil- 'lages by your Holiness's Predecessors, and

'which

'which were all planted with Miniſters,
'and Rectors, to inſtruct them in the *Chri-*
'*ſtian Doctrine*: Our Lords the Kings have
'alſo been extremely Zealous to have pro-
'cured their Converſion; and in order there-
'unto, an Edict of Grace was granted unto
'them by Pope *Clement* VII. and your Ho-
'lineſs, out of the pious Zeal God hath
'kindled in your Breaſt, did Command me
'and the Biſhops of *Tortoſa*, *Segorve*, and
'*Origuela*, with ſeveral other Learned,
'Grave, and Religious Perſons, to meet to-
'gether, to Conſult about the moſt effectu-
'al ways of Converting them; but all this
'has been to no purpoſe, for at the ſame
'time we were beating our Brains how to In-
'ſtruct them in the *Faith*, they were Plot-
'ting Treaſons againſt the King and his King-
'doms, and againſt *Holy Church*, holding
'Correſpondence with the *Turks*, and the
'other Enemies of our *Holy Faith*, Offer-
'ing to aſſiſt them, and giving them directi-
'ons how they might Conquer *Spain*.

But this old indefatigable Archbiſhop, notwithſtanding he was clearly of opinion, that there was no need at all of obſerving the common Forms of Law and Juſtice to convict the *Moriſcoes* of the Apoſtacies and Treaſons wherewith he had charged them, both before the King and the Pope; nevertheleſs, being ſenſible, that the diſperſion of ſo many

many thousands of Families as would follow upon the Expulsion, would fill the World with horrour, unless it were fully satisfi'd of the *Moriscoes* Treasons; he did therefore, as we have seen, advise the King, for his own justification, to order a General Information to be taken all over *Spain*, of the *Moriscoes* Apostacies and Treasons; which as it might have been done with very little trouble; so care was taken by the Archbishop and his Confederates, that it should have answered the end for which it was design'd; who had the following Articles in readiness to have exhibited against the *Moriscoes*, if such an Information had been ordered.

I. *That they did all rejoice exceedingly, when they heard of the* Turks, *or the* Moors *having had any good success against the* Spaniards; *and that this their Treasonable Joy did never appear so barefac'd as in the Year* 1601, *when his Majesty's Fleet suffer'd so much before* Algiers.

II. *That there was nothing they commended so much as that* Liberty of Conscience *in all* Matters of Religion, *which is granted by the* Turks *and all* Mahometans, *and some* Christian *Princes to all their Subjects.*

III. *That whenever they thought they could do it with safety, they did either murther the Old* Christians *that came among them, and espe-*

cially

cially old Chriſtian Beggars, *or did keep them in Caves, until they had an opportunity of ſelling them to the* Barbary Moors.

IV. *That the Images of the* Saints, *and the Sacred Reliques, which had by the Order of their* Viſitors *been left in their Houſes, were ſo abhorred by them, that they were found many times in very undecent Places, with their Heads downward, and with marks of great Contempt upon them.*

V. *When they were forced to go to Church they did expreſs no manner of Devotion for the* Sacrament, *or the* Images, *or the* Sacred Reliques; *and that a certain* Moriſco, *who had fled to* Algiers, *had told the* Spaniſh *Captives*, That they were much miſtaken if they believed, that the *Moriſcoes*, when they forced them to go to Maſs, did worſhip the *White Wafer* which was ſhew'd them by the Prieſt; and that inſtead of worſhipping, they were ſtill making Figos at it with their Fingers, under their Cloaks.

VI. *That when they had a mind to fright their Children, they told them*, That the Chriſtians were coming to carry them away.

VII. *That they were all extremely ſolicitous to provide* Moriſco *Nurſes for all poor* Moriſco *Orphans; and when they were grown up, to put them to* Moriſco *Maſters; and that this was not done by them out of charity, but purely to prevent their being made* Chriſtians.

VIII.

VIII. *That none were so much honoured by them, as the* Moriscoes *that had been whipped publickly by the Inquisition, or had wore the* St. Benito: *And for the truth of this, an Appeal was made to Father* Lewis Ysila, *the Master of the sacred Palace at* Rome; *who when he was Inquisitor of* Valentia, *having ordered a great number of* Moriscoes *to be whipt publickly, one of their number that had escaped the Rod, deny'd to pay the Executioner his Fee, when he demanded it of him; telling him that he had done nothing for it; and having by that means obtain'd the honour, as he reckon'd it, of being severely whip'd, he paid the Executioner his Wages very cheerfully. And that the same Master of the sacred Palace could testifie, that when he was an Inquisitor in* Valentia, *a certain* Morisco *Woman was so far from being asham'd of the* St. Benit, *when it was put upon her, that she desired the Officer to let her have aanother; or of them, to make a Child she had at home a Coat.*

IX. *That when any of the* Moriscos *escaped to* Algiers, *or to any other Ports of* Barbary, *they were more zealous* Mahometans, *and did speak of* Christians, *and their Religion with more contempt, than the* Moors *themselves did.*

X. *That besides* Alfaques, *who instructed them in the* Mahometan Law, *they had* Alcaides

It

caides *among them, who puniſhed all that tranſgreſſed it.*

XI. *That they reckoned no Corn grew ſo well as that which was ſown on* Sundays *and* Holydays.

XII. *That they were ſuch Enemies to* Clocks *and* Bells, *that they would not ſuffer any to be in their Houſes.*

XIII. *That they did reckon it a great Sin in a* Moriſco *to accuſe any of his Brethren to the Inquiſition.*

XIV. *To excuſe their not ſending for a Prieſt to adminiſter the* Sacrament *to their Dying Friends, they pretended their Friends died ſuddenly, and before they apprehended them to be in any danger.*

XV. *That all, or moſt of them that died by the Hand of Juſtice, did, when they were brought to the place of Execution, if not before, declare that they died in the* Mahometan *Faith.*

Laſtly, *That they did all ſend Intelligence to the* Barbary *Pirates.*

Theſe, and a great many more ſuch *Articles* would have been exhibited againſt the *Moriſcoes*, had the King ordered a General Information to have been taken concerning them, as the Archbiſhop adviſed him to do, for the ſatisfaction of the World.

But the King and his Council being sensible that the Barons, if such an Information were commanded to be taken, would conclude, that it was in order to expel the *Moriscoes*, they judged it more advisable to neglect the censure of the World, than struggle with the Opposition they knew they should have from the Barons, if they were acquainted with that Design before it was executed.

Among these *Articles*, one may venture to affirm, that there are some that are meer Malicious Inventions, having either no ground at all, or only that of Common Talk; or at most, were the Facts only of some particular *Moriscoes*: But as to the two grand Articles of Treason and Apostacy, so far as I am able to Judge, they were innocent of the first, as to all Actual Treason; but were guilty of the last.

That the *Moriscoes* being in their Hearts *Mahometans*, might so rejoice, when they heard of the *Spaniards*, or any other Christians being worsted by the *Turks* or *Moors*, as not to be able wholly to conceal their Joy on such occasions; and considering how cruelly they were used by the Inquisition, that they might wish *Spain* under the Government of any Prince, *Christian* or *Mahometan*, that would grant them Liberty of Conscience, are things so natural, that the

Testimony

Teſtimony of their Adverſaries may be ſafely taken for their being true. But as it does by no means follow, that the *Moriſcoes* were therefore actually engaged in any Treaty, either with the *Moors* or *Turks*, or *French*, or *Engliſh*, or *Dutch*; with all which Nations they were accuſed of having been in correſpondence, ſo as to invite them by Promiſes of aſſiſtance to invade *Spain*; ſo I can ſee no reaſon to believe, that they were ever any wiſe concern'd in any ſuch Treaties or Correſpondencies: Of which, and of the Evidences the Court of *Spain* pretended to have of them as to *France*, King *Henry* the IVth. of *France*, did in my Opinion paſs a very true Judgment; who having been told by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, of his being in a correſpondence with the *Moriſcoes*, in order to diſturb the Peace of *Spain*, and of ſome *Moriſcoes* having confeſſed as much at their Death; he made anſwer, *That that whole buſineſs was an Artifice of the Court of* Spain, *which by the extremity of Tortures had forced thoſe Confeſſions from the Mouths of ſome unhappy Wretches, executed for other Crimes; or had thruſt them into their Forged Wills and Teſtaments; that when they ſhould be found debauching his Subjects to commit Treaſons, as it was viſible they were doing at that time, they might have matter to recriminate with ſome appearance of Truth.*

But though this might be one Reason why the Council of *Spain* did either forge such Confessions, or procure them by Tortures, or by Promises of a Pardon to Malefactors for other Crimes; yet considering that this was done when the Duke of *Lerma*, the first Minister, and his Brother the Cardinal of *Toledo*, had set their Hearts extremely on the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, it is more than probable, that the accelerating and justifying of that Expulsion, was the chief Motive to that Artifice; as the *French* King called it; of forging or procuring such Testimonies.

As to the *Moriscoes* being in their hearts all *Mahometans*, I cannot see any Reason to doubt of the Truth of that: For besides that they who were zealous against their being expelled, did not know well how to deny their being *Mahometans*, when they were charged with it by their Adversaries; the *Moriscoes* when they saw there was no remedy, but they must leave *Spain*, were for going no where else but to *Barbary*, where that Religion was profess'd; and whither they all went, who were left to their liberty to go to what Country they pleased, that was subject to the *Roman Church*, and not within the *Spanish* Dominions: And as they did all profess themselves *Mahometans* so soon as ever they were among the *Moors*, so we read

read of few or none of them, that ever fled back to *Spain*, or to any *Spaniſh* Gariſon in *Barbary*; which they might, and would have done, or at leaſt have attempted it, had they been Chriſtians.

Now conſidering how long the *Moriſcoes* had been Subjects to the *Spaniards*, thoſe of *Valentia* having been conquered by them near four hundred Years before they were expelled; and conſidering the pains and charges the *Spaniſh* Princes had been at to make them all Chriſtians, and the Severities that had been uſed with them; and eſpecially after they were forced to receive Baptiſm, to oblige them to profeſs and embrace the Chriſtian Faith; the *Moriſcoes* obſtinately adhering thus to the *Mahometan Sect*, is certainly a moſt wonderful thing: But as the ſtrangeſt Events have their Cauſes, only they are not ſo eaſily diſcovered as the moſt common, ſo, with ſubmiſſion to better Judgments, I do take the following Particulars to have been the cauſes of this unuſual obſtinacy of the *Moriſcoes* in the *Mahometan Sect*.

I. *The* Moriſcoes *having from the day they were firſt conquered until the day they were expelled* Spain, *lived in great numbers together; not only whole Villages, but ſome Towns and Countries having had few Inhabitants in them,*

that were not of that Race; now by living thus together, they did both very much encourage and confirm one another in their Infidelity, and were much safer in it from the Inquisition, than they would otherwise have been.

The II. *Cause of this strange Obstinacy, was a consequence of the First; which was their continuing still to speak only the* Arabick *Tongue; which was the case of most of their Women, and of all their* Children: *And as this was a great hindrance to their being instructed in the* Christian Faith, *few or none of their* Curates, *or of the* Missionarys *that were sent among them understanding any thing of that Language, so it still preserved the memory among them, of their being the same People with the* Moors, *whose Language that was, and the Book of whose Law was writ in it.*

The III. *Cause was their living so in the Neighbourhood of the* Moors *of* Barbary, *that few Weeks passed without their hearing something or other of them, and of their affairs; and whereas the* Moriscoes *did all know that* Spain *had been once Conquered by the* Moors *their Ancestors, and did much value themselves upon it; so it is not unlikely that they might, after the Example of all Conquered Nations, which are not become one People with their Conquerors, feed themselves still with hopes derived from vain Prophecies, or Idle Traditional*

tional Stories, of ſeeing the Moors, *at one time or other Maſters of* Spain *again.*

The IV. *Cauſe was the Proud and Fooliſh Care the* Spaniards *took to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the* Moriſcoes, *by calling themſelves* Old Chriſtians, *and the* Moriſcoes New Chriſtians, *and by excluding the* Moriſcoes *from all Offices and Benefices, both in Church and State; by which courſe, they did both exaſperate the Spirits of the* Moriſcoes *againſt the* Chriſtians, *and their* Religion, *and did keep alive among them, the memory of their being deſcended from the* Moors, *which was truly the chief Root of their Obſtinacy in* Mahometiſm.

The laſt Cauſe was the Spaniard's *Adoring of* Images, *for which, the* Mahometans, *as well as the Jews, have an invincible averſion.*

I do not, with the Baron, reckon the Cruelties which were exerciſed on the *Moriſcoes* by the Inquiſition, after they were forced to receive Baptiſm, among the cauſes of their Infidelity; and the reaſon why I do not, is, becauſe ſuch terrible Cruelties, though they cannot convince Infidels of the truth of *Chriſtianity*, but do rathe prejudice them againſt it; they can nevertheleſs oblige them ſo far to Diſſemble, that they ſhall never dare to truſt

their Children, or their Nurses with the secret of their inward unbelief: by which means their Children will be brought up *Christians*, after the same manner as they would have been, had none of their Ancestors ever been of any other Religion: this effect the great and unintermitting Severities of the Inquisition would certainly have had on the next Generation of the *Moriscoes* after they began to be exercised, had it not been for their living together, with few or no *Old Christians* among them, to observe what they did.

Austine Salucio, a Wise, and Learned *Spanish Dominican* Frier was of Opinion, that the main Body of the *Moriscoes* were descended from the old Inhabitants of *Spain*, who, having in the Conquest of that Kingdom been Subued by the *Moors*, did, in process of time, lose both their former Language, and their Religion, and were Incorporated so with their Conquerors, as to become one and the same People with them; and that it must have been so he thinks is very plain, from the *Mooriſh* Territories in *Spain* having been always very Populous, and for some Ages before they were Recovered out of the hands of the *Moors*, with few, or no *Christians* in them, which they could not have been otherwise, few, besides Soldiers, and those in no very great

great numbers neither, and with very few Women, having evercome from *Barbary*, into *Spain*: And as to the *Goths*, who were and had been Maſters of *Spain* for ſome Ages, when it was Conquered by the *Moors*, he ſaith, the moſt of them were either killed in the Battels they had with the *Moors*, or retired into *France*, and the Northern, and Mountainous Countries of *Spain*.

This Ingenious thought of *Salucios* is much confirmed by a Letter, writ in the Year, 1311 to the Council of *Vien*, by *James*, King of *Aragon*, wherein he affirms, that of two hundred thouſand *Mahometans*, who were at that time in the Kingdom, and City of *Granada*, there were not above five hundred that were deſcended of true *Moors*, all the reſt being deſcendents of *Spaniards*, who had Apoſtatized from the *Chriſtian Faith*, and had turned *Mahometans*. The ſame Frier is of Opinion, that the main Body of the preſent *Spaniards*, muſt, for the ſame Reaſons, be the deſcendents of thoſe *Spaniſh Moriſcoes* who remained in *Spain*, after it was Recovered by the *Chriſtians*. To return to the thread of the Hiſtory.

The King, and the *Angel of his Great Council*, as the Friers call'd the Duke of *Lerma*, on this occaſion, having fix'd the Month

Month of *September*, in the Year 1609, for the Expulſion of all the *Moriſcoes* of the Kingdom of *Valentia*: Orders were ſecretly diſpatched ſome Months before, to the Commanders in Chief of the Men of War, and Gallies of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, to have their Fleets ready to Sail by *Auguſt* next, with a certain number of Land-Soldiers aboard them, which having been done under a pretence of making ſome attempt upon the Coaſt of *Barbary*, new Orders were diſpatched to the Fleet of *Spain*, which were twenty in number, and had on Board a thouſand Soldiers, to Sail to the Ports of *Vinares*, and *Albaques*: to the Fleet of *Naples*, which were ſeventeen in number, and had on Board two thouſand and ſeventy five Soldiers, to Sail to the Port of *Denia*: tothe Gallies of *Sicily*, which were nine in number, and of *Portugal*, with fourteen Men of War, which had on Board, two thouſand, four hundred Soldiers, being ordered to Sail to *Alicant*.

The Barons, who had not the leaſt ſuſpition of theſe Preparations having been made to Tranſport the *Moriſcoes* of the Kingdom into *Barbary*; were firſt alarm'd by *Don Peter de Mercia*, Governor of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, a great Soldier, being ſent from Court to *Valentia*, and *Don Peter de Toledo*, Admiral of the *Spaniſh* Fleet being

ing ſent at the ſame time to *Denia*, the firſt being to command the Land Forces, and the ſecond the whole Feet, when they arrived: And though they ſtill pretended that their Deſign was to make a Deſcent ſomwhere on the Coaſt *of Barbary*, the *Barons* did from ſeveral Circumſtances gather, that that was only a blind, and that their buſineſs muſt be to tranſport all the *Moriſcoes*: In which Suſpicions the *Barons* were much confirmed by their Archbiſhop, who it ſeems was in the Secret, laying in extraordinary Proviſions of Meal, Wine and Fuel, and taking ſuch a number of Men and Arms into his Houſe, as if he had expected to be beſieged in it.

Upon this Alarum the Barons aſſembled themſelves in the City of *Valentia*; which by the Conſtitution of the Government of that Kingdom they might do whenever they judged there was any occaſion for it; and after having ſpoke their Thoughts freely, concerning the great preſent Preparations, they diſpatched ſome Deputies to the Marquiſs of *Carazena*, their Viceroy; deſiring to know of him, what was the meaning of them.

The Viceroy, though he was much troubled at the *Military Arms* being aſſembled, for ſo ſuch Aſſemblies of the *Barons* are called, received their Deputies with great Civility

vility; desiring them to assure the *Barons* from him, that whatever his Majesty's Design was by the present Preparations, it was to promote the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom of *Valentia*; and that they could have no reason to be jealous of the Court's having any ill design upon their Liberties or Priviledges, at a time, when the Duke of *Lerma*, who was their Countreyman, and had a great Estate among them, was the first Minister.

But the *Barons* not doubting after they had received this Answer from the *Viceroy*, That the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* was the thing that was designed; and not being so certain that a first Minister will be faithful to the true Interest of his Country, as they were, that nothing could be more prejudicial to *Valentia* than that Expulsion; it was proposed, that they should immediately dispach Deputies to Court, in their Names to remonstrate against it, as the worst thing that could be done to them, and the whole Kingdom. This Proposition was agreed to by the whole Body, the Count of *Tindil* and his Brother only excepted: Who tho' they pretended to condemn the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* as much as any of the rest, did oppose the sending of Depties to Court, which, they said, would be taken ill by the King, and could signifie nothing; it not being

ing a thing to be imagined, that the King, after he had been at ſuch vaſt Expences, ſhould by any Remonſtrances that could be made to him, be diverted from executing whatever he deſigned thereby. This Oppoſition was taken moſt heinouſly by all the reſt of the *Barons*; who told that Count and his Brother, That becauſe they would ſuffer little, as to their own Private Eſtates, by that Expulſion, having few or no *Moriſco* Vaſſals, they were not concerned for what the Publick would ſuffer thereby. But the conſtitution of the *Military Arm* being ſuch, that nothing can be done in it without the unanimous Vote of all its Members, the *Barons* adjourned till next Morning, without having done any thing.

The *Viceroy* having been inform'd of the great heat the *Barons* had been in, he ordered the Chief Judge of the *Chancery* to be preſent at their meeting next Morning, to try to allay their Heat, and if it were poſſible, to divert them from ſending any Deputies to Court: But the *Barons*, when they were aſſembled, notwithſtanding all that Judge could ſay to them, did declare, That they would not be hindred either by Artifice, or unreaſonable Oppoſitions, from diſcharging their Duty to their Country and Poſterity.

But as they were about to have named their Deputies, the Lord Chief Justice in Criminal Matters came among them, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, to *Ajourn and repair before Night to their respective Houses.*

But if the *Barons* were angry before; this unexpected Adjournment made them much more so: And having met again next Morning, they all drew their Swords so soon as they entred the Senate House, declaring, *They would not sheath them again before they had finished the business they had met about.*

The Lord Chief Justice, who had been sent to them again by the *Viceroy*, as he was exhorting the *Barons* with great vehemence to put up their Swords, and to behave themselves as became good Subjects; fell down dead in the place where he stood, and never spoke a word more.

Had such a sad Accident as this happened at this time, to any of the *Barons*, as they were speaking against the *Expulsion*, it would have rung louder, as a Judgment, thorough all *Spain*, than the Bell of *Vilila* had rung on the same side.

The Report at first was, *That my Lord Chief Justice was killed by the* Barons *in the Senate House*; but his Relations and others were quickly satisfy'd that it was not so, and that

that he had died of pure Paſſion, thorough a too violent agitation of his Spirits.

But though the *Barons* were diverted for ſome hours by this ſurprizing Accident, from naming their Deputies, they both named them before they roſe, and drew up their Inſtructions; the ſubſtance whereof was;

That they were, in their Names, to aſſure the King, and the Duke of Lerma, *that* Valentia *would be abſolutely ruined, if the* Moriſcoes, *by whom all its Work was done, ſhould be turn'd out of it.*

The Perſons named for Deputies, were *Don Philip Buyl, Baron of Munizes*, and *Don John Bellterra*, who having poſted to *Madrid*, and obtained an Audience of the King, they delivered the Letters they had from the *Barons* to his Majeſty; having delivered that they had from them to the Duke of *Lerma*, before.

The King after he had heard all that the Deputies had to offer againſt the Expulſion, told them, *They came too late, the* Ban *for expelling the* Moriſcos *of* Valentia *having been publiſhed in that Kingdom before that time, as it was the Day before:* The King told them farther, *That he had ſent a Letter to the* Barons;

rons, *which he was sure would satisfie them of the necessity there was of doing it:* Which Letter was as follows:

Our Venerable and Beloved,

YOU cannot but be sensible of the great Endeavours that have been used, thorow a long series of Years, to convert the New Christians *of this Kingdom, and of an* Edict of Grace *having been granted to them, and of all the other means which have been made use of, to have instructed them in our Holy Faith; as also of the ill success of all those Endeavours, not so much as one of them, as is believed, having been converted thereby: On the contrary, their obstinacy has gone on encreasing daily, with an inclination to plot the disturbance of the Peace of these our Kingdoms.*

Now the Danger and irreparable Dammage which may attend our suffering these people to remain any longer among us, having been laid before me some Years ago, by several Learned and Holy men, and who exhorted me to a speedy Remedy, and which they told me I was bound in Conscience to make use of; assuring me further, that I might without any scruple of Conscience, punish them all with death, and the loss of their Estates, for the Crimes whereof they were guilty; all of them being guilty of Heresy *and* Apostacy, *and of Divine and Human Treason; nevertheless, notwithstanding we might*

might have proceeded againſt them with the rigor that their Crimes do deſerve, we continuing deſirous, if it had been poſſible, to have reduced them by mild and gentle methods, did, as you know very well, order a Junta *to be held at* Valentia, *to conſult together, to ſee whether any new ways might be found out to convert them; that ſo we might not be obliged to baniſh them out of* Spain: *But while we were thus labouring their* Converſion, *we received Advice by ſeveral ways, of their having ſent Deputies to* Conſtantinople *and* Morocco, *to invite the* Turk *and* Muley Silem *to come to their aſſiſtance, with an aſſurance of fifty thouſand men being ready to join them when they landed in* Spain, *who were all as true* Mahometans *as any in* Barbary; *and would all ſacrifice their Lives and Eſtates in their ſervice; and to encourage them to enterprize it, they told them, It would be an eaſie Conqueſt,* Spain *having but few men in it that were fit to bear Arms; and yet fewer that knew any thing of Martial Diſcipline: They have been guilty alſo of holding a correſpondence with Heretical and other Princes, who are Enemies to the greatneſs of our Monarchy; having offered to aſſiſt both the one and the other with their Forces.*

Farthermore, we are certainly informed of the Turks *having concluded a Peace with the* Perſian, *and with ſome of his Rebellious Sub-*

jects, that so he may be at liberty to send his Fleet into our Seas, and that Muley Silem *also has quieted his Kingdom, and is treating with the* Northern Hereticks *about Ships to transport an Army of* Moors *into* Spain; *which those* Hereticks *have promised to supply him with: Now in how great danger* Spain *would be, if it should be invaded by these and some other Enemies, I leave to you to judge.*

Now considering all that has been said, and being desirous to comply with the Obligations we are under, to procure the conservation and security of our Kingdoms, and of this in particular, and of all our Good and Faithful Subjects therein, who are, of all our other Subjects, in the greatest danger; and that the Heresy *and* Apostacy *wherewith our Lord is so much offended, may be extirpated; after having recommended this Affair, and caused it to be recommended to God; trusting in his Divine Favour, in a Work wherein his Glory is so deeply concern'd; We have resolved to banish all the* Moriscoes *out of this our Kingdom, and that of* Castile, *in such a manner as you will be advertized of; and with which, as good and faithful Subjects, I have ordered you to be acquainted; on purpose to make you sensible, that it is the security of your Persons and Affairs, and to prevent the Dangers which do threaten you and them, and the great Love I have for you, that moved me to take this Resolution; the Execution where-*

of

of cannot be delayded any longer, without running the hazard of ſeeing Spain *ſpeedily invaded by ſo many Enemies; and particularly, the forementioned Infidels.*

We do therefore earneſtly charge you, to whoſe ſecurity and repoſe the effectual and ſpeedy execution of this our Purpoſe will redound ſo much for to be aſſiſtant to it, as you ſhall be directed by the Marqueſs de Carazena *our Lieutenant and Captain General of this Kingdom: And this I expect from the Zeal you have for God's Service and mine, and your own Preſervation: and herein you will comply with the Obligations of Faithful and Good* Chriſtians *and Subjects, and will perform the moſt acceptable Service you can do us.*

As to every thing relating to the Execution of this our Purpoſe, we do remit you to our Viceroy; *who ſhall in my Name direct you, and whoſe Directions you ſhall execute.*

From St. Lawrence, *the 11th of* September, 1609.

This Letter was on the 22d of the ſame Month delivered by the *Viceroy* to the *Barons*, who having the ſame Thoughts of the Trea-

the Patronage of all the Biſhopricks within their Dominions: For as that Supplication had been always, in their Kings Intention, tantamount to a Preſentation, ſo it had been conſtantly the ſame in Fact; none for whom their King had ſupplicated, having ever been refuſed by the Popes; no more than if they had been preſented by them to their Biſhopricks. Now by this the World may ſee, as I have elſewhere obſerved, how dangerous it is for Princes, or Biſhops, to be liberal in beſtowing Complements upon Popes, who, on many Occaſions, have given ſuch a Turn to Complements, as to make them the Foundation of ſome acknowledged Right or other; tho' nothing was farther from their Thoughts who paid the Popes thoſe humble Civilities, than the acknowledging any ſuch Right by them.

The great Inconveniencies alſo, which attended Perſons being preſented to Dignitys and Benefices in *Portugal* by the Pope, *proprio Motu*, were much inſiſted on on this Occaſion: For whereas all the Dignitys and Benefices which are in the Gift of the Biſhops, that do fall in one ſix Months of the Year, are of the Pope's Preſentation; ſo theſe Dignitys and Benefices were commonly provided of Clerks who did the Church no Service nor their Patron much Honour: So that were it not for the *Portugueſes* ſacrificing their

Reſentments

Reſentments of the great Inconveniencies which they daily felt, by means of thoſe Preſentations, to the Reverence they had for the Apoſtolical See, thoſe Preſentations would lye under a very great Scandal in the World; moſt of thoſe Dignitys and Benefices being conferred by the Nuncio, or by his Officers, upon Perſons of no known Merit, beſides that of having Money; and who are for the moſt part abſolute Strangers to thoſe that are ſo kind as to help them to their Preſentations; and if *Portugal*, ſaid they, ſuffers ſo much by having her inferior Dignitys and Benefices preſented to in that Manner, how much worſe would it be for her to have all her Biſhopricks beſtowed ſo?

And thus the *Roman* See never fails when Kingdoms are in diſtreſs, and do ſtand in need of her help, to fiſh for one Advantage or another for her ſelf out of their being in ſuch Circumſtances: So that if they will have her Help, they muſt buy it dear: And by ſuch Steps it was that the Popes aſcended to that Height of Grandeur the World ſees them in at preſent: Tho', it is true, that ſince the Reſtoration of Learning, and which was a conſequence of that, the Reformation, the Popes, on ſuch Occaſions, have not been able to drive ſo good Bargains for themſelves as they us'd to do before.

word for word the same with that to the *Barons*, which I have set down at length, *Page* 42.

Now that this His Majesty's *Command may be executed, and have its due Effect, We have commanded the following* Band *to be published.*

I. THAT all the *Moriscoes* of this Kingdom, Men, Women and Children shall within three Days after the Publication of this *Band* in the Place where they live, and have their Habitation, depart and go towards the place appointed by the Commissaries, whom they are to follow, and obey, for their Embarcation; taking with them so much of their moveable Goods as they are able to carry, there to Embarque on the Gallies and Ships which are ready to carry them to *Barbary*; where they shall be Landed without any Molestation, either in word or deed to their Persons, or to the Goods they carry with them: and tho' whatever is necessary to their Subsistence shall be provided for them aboard the Ships, they may nevertheless lay in what Provision they please for themselves: with which *Band*, who-

whoſoever ſhall not comply, but ſhall violate it in any particular, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

II. If any of the ſaid *Moriſcoes* ſhall, after the Publication of this *Band*, abſent themſelves from the places where they lived, they ſhall be Apprehended by any Perſon that ſhall meet with them, and who are hereby immediately Indemnify'd for the ſame, and in caſe any of the ſaid *Moriſcoes* do offer to defend themſelves, againſt being carry'd before the next Juſtice, it ſhall be Lawful to kill them.

III. If any of the ſaid *Moriſcoes* ſhall hide, or bury any of the Goods they cannot carry with them, or ſhall ſet Fire to their Houſes, Corn, Orchards, or Trees, they ſhall be put to death by the People of the place where it is done, and whom we do command to be the Executioners of it: His Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to grant all their Goods, moveables, and immoveables, beſides thoſe they cannot carry themſelves, to the Lords to whom they were Vaſſals.

IV. No *Moriſcoe* ſhall, under pain of death, remove from the place where he was at the publication of this *Band*, but they ſhall all remain where they

were at that time, until the Commissaries, who are to Conduct them to the Sea side do come to them.

V. For the Preservation of the Houses, Ingenio's of Sugar, Granaries of Rice, and Aqueducts, &c. and for the Instruction of the New inhabitants that are to come, in all those works; his Majesty, at our Request, has been pleased to grant, that in every Town where there are an hundred *Morisco* Families, six may remain, with their Wives and Children, provided their Children are not, nor have ever been Married, but are under the tuterage of their Parents, and in their proportion, more, or fewer, according to the number of Families in places, only that number must never be exceeded; the nomination of all the Families that are to remain shall be left to the Lords of the Places, who must send an Account to us, of the Persons named by them; and as to the *Moriscoes* that are to remain in places belonging to the King, and to us, care will be taken to prefer the most Ancient, and Husbandmen, and such as are supposed to be the truest *Christians*, or, that seem best disposed to be Reduced to our Holy Faith.

VI.

VI. No *Old Chriſtian*, nor Soldier, Native, or Foreigner, ſhall dare to treat any of the *Moriſcoes* ill, either by word or deed, or to meddle with the Perſons, Wives, or Goods of the ſaid *Moriſcoes*.

VII. None ſhall preſume to hide, or conceal any of the *Moriſcoes* in their Houſes, nor ſhall be any ways aſſiſtant to their being concealed, or to their abſenting of themſelves, upon pain of being Condemned to the Gallies for ſix years without remiſſion, and of other Puniſhments at his Majeſty's Pleaſure.

VIII. That the *Moriſcoes* may be ſatisfied that his Majeſty intends only to Baniſh them out of *Spain*, and Land them without any vexation on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, we do permit ten of the *Moriſcoes* that ſhall Embarque at the firſt Voyage, to return, to inform thoſe that are behind how they were uſed, the ſame ſhall be obſerved in every Embarcation by the Captain General of the Gallies, who ſhall not ſuffer any Soldier or Mariner to abuſe the *Moriſcoes*, by either word or deed.

IX. Their Children, Male, and Female, that are under four years old, whoſe Parents, or if they are Orphans, whoſe Guar-

Guardians are willing they should stay behind, shall not be Expelled.

X. The Boys and Girls that are not above six years old, one of whose Parents is an *Old Christian* may stay, and their Mother with them, tho' she be a *Moriscoe*: But if the Father be a *Moriscoe* and the Mother an *Old Christian*, the Father shall be Banished, and the Children that are under six years old shall remain with their Mother.

XI. They also may stay, who have lived among *Old Christians* for a considerable time, and have not in the two years last past been at any of the Meetings of the *Moriscoes*.

XII. They also may stay, who have with the leave of their Prelate, received the most Holy Sacrament, and can shew a Certificate from their Parish Priest of their having done it.

XIII. His Majesty is graciously pleased to grant leave to the said *Moriscoes*, to go into any Kingdom out of the *Spanish* Dominions, provided they depart from their Habitations within the time prefix'd.

This is his Majesty's Royal and fix'd Will; and that the Penalties *of this* Band *be executed, and that they shall be executed*

ted without remiſſion; and that it may come to the knowledge of all, that it be publiſhed in the cuſtomary Form.

Dated at the Palace of *Valentia* on the 22d of *September*, 1609.

By his Excellency's Command,

Manuel de Eſpinoſa.

The *Viceroy*, who of himſelf was no Friend to the Expulſion, no more than the other *Barons*, knowing how highly the Nobles and Gentry would be diſpleaſed with the Publication of this *Band*, and that it would make all the *Moriſcoes* deſperate, he did at the ſame time with the *Band* publiſh the following *Orders*, for the Security of the Peace of the Kingdom.

From the Gate of the Palace *to that of the* Jews *the Walls ſhall be guarded by the Regiment of the Governor* Don James Ferrer, *whoſe Guardhouſe ſhall be the Cloyſter of the* Dominicans.

From the Gate of the Jews *to that of* Racafa, *they ſhall be guarded by the Regiment of* Don John de Caſtelni, *whoſe Guardhouſe ſhall be in the* Hoſpital.

From

From the Gate of Racafa *to that of the* Innocents, *they ſhall be guarded by the Regiment of* Don Francis Juan, *whoſe Guardhouſe ſhall be the* Porthouſe of St. Vincent.

From the Gate of the Innocents *to that of the* Tintes, *they ſhall be guarded by the Regiment of the* Conde de Caſteller, *whoſe Guardhouſe ſhall be the* Portall.

From the Gate de Tintes *to that of* Serranes, *they ſhall be guarded by the Regiment of the* Conde de Alaques *whoſe Guardhouſe ſhall be the New Gate.*

From the Gate of Serrenes *to the Palace, they ſhall be guarded by the Regiment of the* Conde Bennel, *whoſe Guardhouſe ſhall be the* Gate de Serrenes.

The Company of Hundred ſhall repair to the Cloſe of the See Church *and the* Townhouſe.

The Company de la Seca *ſhall repair to the* Market Place.

The Familiars of the Holy Office *ſhall repair to the* Cloſe of St. Lawrence, *and the* Houſe of the Inquiſition.

The Gentlemen and Exempts ſhall repair to the Palace.

Five Companies ſhall be on the Guard every Night, one at the Gate of the Palace, which ſhall ſend Sentinels to the Magazine of Arms; *another within the Palace; another*

at

at the Gate de Serres, *which ſhall ſend Sentinels to the* Magazine *of Powder; and another at the Gate* de Quarto; *and another at* St. Vincent.

The Soldiers, when they are upon the Guard, ſhall not leave their Poſts for one minute; and to prevent Diſorders, they ſhall not be permitted to carry their Arms thorough the Streets when they go home to their Houſes.

The Gates of the City ſhall be ſhut at their uſual hour, and the four chief Gates after they are once ſhut, ſhall not be opened without our Order, either by word of mouth, or writing, and ſent by the Sargeant, Major, or Adjutant.

None upon pain of death ſhall preſume to make any Alarm; and if any do preſume to do it, the Captains and other Officers ſhall aſſiſt to apprehend them.

The Main Guard ſhall not beat an Alarm until they have our particular Order to do it; and if there ſhould be any ſuch occaſion, notice ſhall be ſent to me of it, that I may judge whether it ought to be done, or not: For as this City can be in no great danger but from a great body of men, ſo ſuch a body cannot approach near to it, without our having notice of them before.

The

The Villages that are about the City must keep strong Guards; and in case of any Rumor of an Army, they shall come and tell me of it, and that without saying any thing of it in the City, or to those that are upon the Guard.

In case there should be occasion for a general Alarm, it shall be given by striking the great Bell in the See Church *with an Hammer, and upon that Signal's being given, Candles shall be lighted in all the Houses, and be set in the Windows, and the men shall all repair to their Colours; and the Women and Children shall all keep within doors.*

And whereas the Suburbs, and the Fifteen Convents of Fryers *and* Nuns *that are in them are the most exposed to danger, we do order the Five Troops, which are the Guard of the Coast of this Kingdom, to be quartered there, with their other Guards; a whole Troop of which body shall patrole every night, the Command whereof I do commit to my Brother* Don Pacheco y Cavillo, *the* Marquis de Framista *my Son-in-law, being appointed by me to be about my Person, to be employed by me as there shall be occasion.*

The Marquess of

Carazena.

The

The Archbiſhop who had been ſo great an Inſtrument in the promoting this Expulſion, to teſtify his Joy and Thanks for it, and to inflame the Old Chriſtians againſt the *Moriſcoes*, did on the ſame day that the *Band* was publiſhed, publiſh the following *Orders* to be obſerved by his *Clergy*.

We Don John de Ribera, *by the Grace of God, and the Holy and Apoſtolical See, Patriarch of* Antioch, *and Archbiſhop of* Valentia, *of his Majeſty's Council*, &c.

To the Venerable Rectors and Clerks, and to the Reverend Fathers the Superiors of the Religious of this our Archbiſhoprick;

IT being manifeſt that his Majeſty was moved to the Reſolution he has taken of baniſhing all the Moriſcoes *out of this Kingdom, by his holy Zeal for the Service of God, and the exaltation of his Holy* Catholick Faith, *and for the preſervation of his Kingdoms, and of all his Faithful Subjects in peace and tranquility, we do truſt in God, that his Majeſty's Diligence in this Affair will meet with a ready obedience, ſo as to compaſs the Ends at which it aims. And*

whereas

whereas this is a matter of the highest moment, both as to the Service of God, and the general Profit of these Kingdoms, it is just and necessary that we should all have recourse to God, beseeching him so to direct this Affair, that his own Glory and Honour may be thereby exalted, and his Majesty's Life and Health may be prosperous, and this his Royal and Holy Action may compass its Ends, and Heresy *and* Blasphemy *may be confounded: I have therefore judged it to be convenient, to command all the Rectors and Clerks, and to desire and charge all the Superiors of the Religious to have the most Holy* Sacrament *uncovered in their* Churches *and* Monasteries, *on the Days hereafter appointed, and in all their* Sacrifices *and* Prayers *publick and private, to recommend to God the effectual and speedy execution of this his Majesty's* Command:

On *Sunday* the 27th of *September*, at the *Cathedral-Church*, and at the *Convent* of the *Dominicans*.

On *Monday* the 28th.

On *Tuesday* the 29th, at St. *Andrews*, and St. *Austins*.

On *Wednesday* the 3th at St. *John*'s *Hospital*, and the Church of the *Carmelites*; and so on till the 21st of *October* the *Sacrament* was uncovered every day in two Churches in that City.

But beſides this *Mandate*, there was another directed by him to all the *Rectors*, *Vicars*, *&c.* within his Archbiſhoprick, which was as followeth:

Reverend Father,

'THIS will give you to underſtand, 'that his Majeſty has taken a Reſo- 'lution to expel all the *Moriſcoes* out of this 'Kingdom; whereby the great and many 'bold Blaſphemies againſt God and his Re- 'ligion, of which you that live among the '*Moriſcoes* cannot but be ſenſible; and for 'which great Plagues from Heaven, if not 'the general Ruin and Deſtruction of this 'Kingdom, might juſtly have been feared, 'will ceaſe.

'His Majeſty being enlightned by the Ho- 'ly Ghoſt; and in the firſt place, having God's Service in his Eye; and in the ſe- 'cond place, the benefit of this Kingdom, 'and the ſecurity of its Inhabitants; not- 'withſtanding he might juſtly have inflicted 'on them the Puniſhments, which the Ec- 'cleſiaſtical and Civil Laws do appoint, for '*Hereticks*, *Apoſtates*, and *Traytors*: He has 'nevertheleſs, out of his cuſtomary Cle- 'mency and Benignity, only baniſhed thoſe 'that troubled us; which was according to 'St. *Paul*'s deſire.

'This I was willing you should know from me, that you and all the other Priests belonging to your Church, might return particular Thanks to God for the singular mercy of his having given us so Religious and Zealous a King; and to beseech him, both in your Publick and Private Prayers, To preserve his Majesty, and prosper him with good Success for the Service of *Christianity*: this Charge shall be given by you to all the Priests and People in your Parishes, that they may Supplicate His Divine Majesty to direct the speedy and effectual execution of this Affair, wherein the Glory of his Holy Name, and the Spiritual, and temporal Benefit of this Kingdom is so much concerned: You shall likewise with all possible care and diligence assist all the Officers that are or shall be employ'd by his Majesty in this Business, in all things relating thereunto; being always ready to comply with whatsoever they shall ordain, so it be not contrary to your Profession, and you shall let them know that I have ordered you so to do; And if you should want my Advice on any occasion, you may, and I hope you will write freely to me for it.

And

'And whereas our Lord the King has 'out of his great Piety, and for the greater 'ſecurity of his Royal Conſcience, Order- 'ed all the Boys, and Girls that are under 'four years old, if they, and their Parents, 'or if they are Orphans, their Guardians 'do conſent to it, not to be Expelled, as 'alſo, all the Boys and Girls who are un- 'der ſix years old, one of whoſe Parents 'is an *Old Chriſtian*; their Mother, tho' 'ſhe be a *Moriſcoe*, being to remain with 'them, but in caſe the Father be a *Moriſcoe*, 'and the Mother an *Old Chriſtian*, the Fa- 'ther is to be Expelled, and the Children 'that are under ſix years old are to remain 'behind with their Mother, as alſo, none 'of thoſe are to be Expelled, who have lived 'for a conſiderable time, that is, for two 'years among *Chriſtians*, without having 'ever been at any of the Meetings 'of the *Moriſcoes*, and none of theſe nei- 'ther, who have with the Licenſe of their 'Prelates received the moſt Holy Sacra- 'ment, having a Certificate thereof from 'the Rector of their Pariſh: All theſe par- 'ticulars you ſhall take great care to ſee exe- 'cuted in your Pariſh; and if there ſhall be 'occaſion, you ſhall let the King's Officers 'know, that I have commanded you to aſ- 'ſiſt them in theſe his Majeſty's Royal 'Commands, neither need you fear that

'they will have no regard to you, seeing 'the most Illustrious, and Excellent, the 'Marques of *Corazena*, his Majesty's Vice-'Roy has Order'd them to be advised by you. 'I do farther charge you to use all Pity and 'Charity with the Children that shal remain, 'in Obedience to what our Lord has taught 'us, saying, *Suffer little Children to come 'unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Hea-'ven:* As to those, both you and I are un-'der great Obligations, being bound to do 'more for our Sheep, and Parishioners 'than for others: In all this I do hope 'you will discharge the Ministry that is 'committed to you, and will so demean 'your selves therein, *that others seeing your 'good works, may be edified thereby*, and that 'I may have cause to thank you, both by 'word and deed, for your care and Vigi-'gilance therein, of which you are to send 'me a particular account, as also, of the 'number of the Boys and Girls that are to 'remain in your Parishes, and of their ac-'commodations,

Given at Our Archiepiscopal Palace, the 22d of Septem. 1609.

The Patriach,

Archbishop of

Valentia

The

The Archbiſhop not being ſatisfy'd with thoſe Teſtimonies of his Joy on this occaſion, did preach himſelf in the *Cathedral Church* the *Sunday* after the *Band* was publiſhed; which was the day whereon he had ordered the *Sacrament* to be uncovered in it; his Text was thoſe words of St. Paul in the 5th *Chapter* of his *Epiſtle* to the *Epheſians*; *I wiſh they were cut off that trouble you.* This Sermon being little elſe than an Encomium and Juſtification of the Expulſion: I judged it would not be improper to preſent the Reader with it, as an Appendix to this Hiſtory.

As to the Children of the *Moriſcoes*, of whom the Archbiſhop ſpeaks here with great tenderneſs, he was of ſeveral minds about them, At firſt, when he began to ſolicit the King to Expell the *Moriſcoes*, he adviſed him to detain all their Children that were under ten years old, and to ſell them for Slaves in *Spain*, where they would be Educated in the *Chriſtian Faith.* But after, having conſidered better on that Affair, and recommended it to God with more fervour; he begg'd the King's pardon for having given him that advice; and deſired that all the *Moriſcoe* Children that were above five years old might be Expelled, becauſe it was known by experience to be a very difficult matter to Convert one to *Chriſtia-*

nity, that was bred till he was of that Age in the *Mahometan Sect*: And being afterwards further enlightned, he advised the King to expel all the Children with their Parents, giving the Three following Reasons for this his last Advice.

1. *Because it would be impossible to find Nurses for all the* Morisco *Children that were under that Age, there being at that time in the Kingdom of* Valentia *above six and fifty thousand* Morisco *Children that were under five Years old: And in all* Spain *there were above forty thousand* Morisco *Children born every Year.*
2. *Since great Numbers of* Moriscos, *Men and Women, were for the sake of some Works and Manufactures to remain still in* Spain, *there would be no possibility of preventing the* Morisco *Children being corrupted and made* Mahometans *by them.*

Lastly, *Because the* Moriscoes *were a People that were so extraordinary fond of their Children, and averse to their being bred* Christians, *that they would certainly rebel, if the* Spaniards *did offer to take their Children from them by force.*

To these Three the Archbishop might, I suppose, have added a 4th Reason; which was, The Cardinal of *Toledo*'s, who was the great

great Wheel of the Expulſion, being againſt any of the *Moriſco* Children being left in *Spain*, to corrupt the *Spaniſh* Blood with the *Mooriſh*: So that any *Moriſco*, old or young, was excepted, was owing to the *Viceroy*'s Intereſt in the Duke of *Lerma*; which though it was not ſtrong enough to divert the Expulſion, was able to procure all the Limitations that are in it.

After the *Moriſcoes* were a little recovered from the great Conſternation, the Publication of the *Band of Expulſion* had thrown them into, ſome of the chief Men among them met privately together at *Valentia*, to conſult whether it was poſſible to divert this Terrible Storm that was come upon them ſo unexpectedly; the *Moriſcoes* having for Two Years before, that is, from the time the Expulſion was determined at Court, being much leſs troubled about Religion than they had ever been before, ſince they were baptized: Their Adverſaries having, during that time, winked at them on purpoſe to have clearer Diſcoveries from them of their being *Mahometans*; by which means few or none of them were capable of any benefit by that Exception, in the *Band*, of *all thoſe who had within two Years received the Sacrament, with a Licenſe from their Prelates.*

It was agreed at this Meeting, that they should make an Address to the *Viceroy*; wherein, after having given him all possible assurances of their Loyalty, and of their having never been in any manner of correspondence with the *Moors*, or with any other of the King's Enemies, they should offer a great sum of Money to the King, and if his Majesty would be pleased to revoke the late *Band*, undertake to maintain a considerable number of Gallies continually, and to build and maintain several Forts upon the Coasts to defend it against the Insults of the *Barbary Moors*, and of all the other Enemies of *Spain*; and that they would further redeem all the *Spanish* Captives that were at that time Slaves in *Barbary*; and would for ever redeem all that should be taken by the *Moors* off the Land of *Valentia*: This Address was presented to the *Viceroy* by Eight of the most Ancient and Venerable Men of that Assembly: His Answer to it was, *That it was to no purpose for them to think of any thing but of yielding a ready Obedience to the* Band, *which the King was immovably determined to have executed.*

When the Deputies returned to their Body with this Melancholy Answer to their Address, a general Rising of the *Moriscoes* all over the Kingdom was proposed by some hot Spirits among them, as the only Remedy

medy they had left; but that Motion, conſidering the Poſture the Government and they were in at that time, having been rejected as Madneſs, they could think of no better way to oblige the *Spaniards* to ſuffer them all to ſtay, than by perſuading the *Moriſco* Families, which were allowed by the *Band* to remain in *Spain*, not to accept of that *Grace*, if their Brethren were expelled, and ſo to leave the *Spaniards* to their choice, to keep them all, or to have none of them.

This Expedient having in a very ſhort time been whiſpered into the Ears of all the *Moriſcoes*, did work one of the ſuddeneſt and greateſt Changes in them that was perhaps ever heard of: The *Moriſcoes*, who the Minute before had been on their Knees to their Lords to beg, That they and their Families might be named by them to ſtay, not being to be perſuaded to ſtay, by all that their Lords could ſay or do to them; all of them to a Man declaring reſolutely, That they would run the ſame Fortune with their Brethren, let that be what it would; and would ſtay if they ſtay'd, and go with them if they went.

This ſudden Reſolution of the *Moriſcoes* made the Barons much more diſcontented than they were before; nothing having ſweetned the *Band* ſo much to them, as the

Exception

Exception that had been procured by the *Viceroy*, of *Six* Morisco *Families out of every Hundred*; which was totally defeated by this. For though it had been so ordered, that the Corn-Harvest was in before the *Band* was published, the Vintage was hardly begun; and for the Sugars, and several other Manufactures, they were quite at an end, if none of the *Moriscoes* could be persuaded to stay so long as to instruct the old Christians in them; who at present were utter Strangers to them all.

And whereas the Duke of *Gandia* had a great Estate in such Manufactures, he did offer every sixth *Morisco* Family of a hundred within his Lands, what they would ask, so they would but stay with him; the *Moriscoes* told him, *That though they were very unwilling to stay behind their Brethren, yet if he would procure them Liberty of Conscience, so many Families as the* Band *allowed, would remain in his Service; but that otherwise he would not be able to prevail with one single* Morisco *to stay.*

The Duke, though he had little reason to hope that the King would gratifie him in this, did petition the *Viceroy* for such a Liberty only for two or three Years, until some old Christians were taught by the *Moriscoes* how to work those Manufactures. The *Viceroy*'s Answer to this Petition was,

That

That ſuch a Liberty would not be granted for one day upon any conſideration whatſoever; for which Anſwer the *Viceroy* was afterwards thanked by the King.

The *Moriſcoes* were not leſs Obſtinate as to their Children, when ſpoke to by their Pariſh Prieſts, to leave them in *Spain*: for, when their Pariſh Prieſts went to perſwade them to it, by telling them how incommodious and dangerous a thing it was to carry ſo many thouſands of Children aboard the Gallies, that would be crowded and peſter'd by other Paſſengers; and whoſe Nurſes having never been at Sea before, would be ſo ſick, that they would not be able to look after them: the *Moriſcoes* anſwer to them was, that tho' they believed all this, and a great deal more than they told them, of the danger and incommodity of carrying ſo many young Children aboard the Gallies that would be ſo peſter'd; they were reſolv'd their Children ſhould go where they went, and that they had much rather ſee them die aboard the Gallies, or any where elſe, than leave them in the hands of a People that had been ſo Mercileſs to their Parents.

On St. *Francis*'s Day a thing hapned, if it was not deſigned, that had like to have eaſed the *Spaniards* of the Charge and Trouble of Tranſporting the *Moriſcoes*: who,

who, had it not not been for the Vice-roy's prudent conduct, might have had all their Throats cut, upon a false Alarm that was given all over the Kingdom.

While the Vice-roy was at St. *Francis*'s Church, at Mass, a Man on Horseback, contrary to the Vice-roy's express Order, came galloping with a naked Sword in his hand through the Streets of the City, crying all the way, *The Moriscoes, The Moriscoes, The Moriscoes*, as if they had been entring the Gates; and after having thus Alarm'd the whole City, he came to the Church of St. *Francis*, and having alighted there, and gone in, he cry'd aloud to the Vice-roy, *there is a vast Army of* Moriscoes, *and all well Arm'd, within sight of* Sijos de Trigo, a Town within a League of *Valentia, and who do cut the throats of all the* Old Christians, *Men, Women, and Children that they meet with:* This Man had not made an end of his Bloody Story, when an Express came to the Vice-roy, with a Letter from the Alcaide of *Buriaser*, a Village belonging to the Archbishop, in the Neighbourhood of *Sijos de Trigo*, which confirmed all that the other had said, of the numbers, nearness, and cruelties of the *Moricoes* Army.

The

The Vice-roy, who did not believe a ſyllable of this Tragical Story, tho' confirmed by a Letter from the Archbiſhop *Alcaide*'s own hand, and knowing, that if he ſhould ſeem to give ſo much credit to it as to go out of the Quire, the whole City would be put thereby in a greater Conſternation, if it were poſſible, than they were in already; he continued in his Seat, and ſent out his Brother, and ſome others that attended him, to aſſure the People that there could be no ſuch thing, and that it was nothing but a falſe Alarm: The Gentlemen that were ſent out by the Vice-roy, after having endeavour'd in vain to ſatisfy the People, who were every where crowding into Churches and Convents to ſave themſelves, ordered a Troop of Horſe to go upon the gallop, where this great and bloody Army was reported to have been ſeen, who being come to the place, met with the ſame Alarm there, but could ſee nothing like an Army, nor meet with any Body that could tell them any thing more of it, than that they had been alarm'd in the ſame manner as the City, and as the whole Kingdom had been at the ſame time, as was known afterwards.

We were not told of this falſe Alarm's having had any Tragical Effects, only it is ſaid, that after the publication of the

Band

Band, the Roads, and Fields were every where strowed with the dead Bodies of the *Moriscoes*, some of them having been killed upon former grudges, and some by the Soldiers, who had been employ'd by Devout Ladies to help them to some of the *Morisco* Children but most of them by the *Banditties*, who were at that time very numerous in *Valentia*.

The Commissaries that were to conduct the *Moriscoes* to the Sea-ports, where the Ships and Gallies lay ready to receive them, having been named by the Vice-roy, they repaired to their several Charges; and the *Moriscoes* of *Gandia*, and of the Sea Coast having been order'd to Embarque first, six thousand of them were put on Board the Gallies of *Naples*, and fourteen thousand aboard the Men of War, and Gallies that were at *Alicant*, and eight thousand aboard the Ships and Gallies at *Vineros*.

The Fleet whereon the *Moriscoes* were Embarqued, having joyned at Sea, had a very quick passage to *Oran*, a Garrison belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Barbary*, where having been all put ashore, Deputies were sent to the Vice-roy of *Tremezen*, to desire him to receive them into his Country, as a People who had been turned out of *Spain* for being of the *Mahometan* Religion: the Vice-roy having received their Depu-

Deputies with great kindneſs, did immediately diſpatch *Cid Almanſor* to them with 500 Ginets, and an 1000 Camels, to carry their Women and Children, and their Goods, if they had any: which Order was Executed by *Almonſar* with great care and tenderneſs; who did not ſuffer any of his Men, or any of the Country People to offer them the leaſt affront, or to do them any injury in their journey. When they were arived at *Tremezen*, they were kindly entertained, and allowed all the Liberties and Priviledges that are enjoyed by the Natives, and which are ſtill enjoyed by their Poſterity, who are ſince become very numerous in thoſe parts: ſo that of all the *Moriſcoes* that were Expelled *Spain* at this time, theſe of the firſt Embarcation fared the beſt in *Barbary*: of which, and of their having been civilly treated aboard the Ships and Gallies, an account, according to the King's Order, was carried back to *Spain* by ten *Moriſcoes* that were of that Embarcation.

The King having been informed that his Fleet at two Voyages more, which were as many as it would be able to make that Year, could not Tranſport one half of the *Moriſcoes* of the Kingdom of *Valentia*, he ordered all the Merchants Ships that were at *Lisbon*, *Cales*, *Barcelona*, &c. to Sail to the

Ports

Ports of that Kingdom, great numbers of Ships came also from *Genoua*, *Majorca*, and the other Islands, and were hired by the *Moriscoes*, who did not care to venture themselves on the King's Ships; by which means all the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia* that were not in Arms, were landed in *Barbary* before the latter end of *November*: The Transported at this time were in number an hundred and forty thousand Men, Women, and Children.

A Bold *Morisco*, whose name was *Melini Siqueira* having retired after the first Embarcation to the Mountains of *Sugar*, which were wholly inhabited by *Moriscoes*, he exhorted them to take up Arms, and defend themselves and their Families; and to die rather with their Swords in their Hands, than to go tamely aboard the Gallies, like so many Sheep to be murthered, as all the *Moriscoes* that had embark'd, had been to his certain knowledge. With this Dismal Story *Melini* had in a short time got fifteen thousand *Moriscoes* together in a body, who having proclaimed *Melini* their King, did all promise to live and die with him.

This *Morisco* Army upon the *Viceroys* having sent no Troops against them until the Embarcations were all over, is said to have grown very cruel and insolent, and to have murthered all the Priests and Fryers they could

could lay their hands on, and to have burnt publickly all the Images and Reliques that were in their Churches and Houſes, and particularly the Images of St. *Vincent Ferrera*, who had preached many years to their Anceſtors: But ſo ſoon as the Embarkations were diſpatched, *Don Anſtin* Mexia was ſent with a great Body of *Veteran* Troops to reduce them, and though the *Moriſcoes* fought very deſperately, and had the advantage of the Ground; yet being both ill Arm'd, and ill Officer'd, they were quickly ſubdued; and their King *Melini* having been taken Priſoner, was ſent to *Valentia*, where he was put to death as a Traytor.

There was another great Inſurrection of the *Moriſcoes* at the ſame time in the *Meulà de Cortes*, raiſed by one *Vincent Turigo*, with the very ſame Story: This was quelled by the *Conde Carlet*, with a great ſlaughter of the *Moriſcoes*; whoſe Leader *Vincent* having been taken, he murthered himſelf in Priſon.

The *Moriſco* Men and Women that were made Priſoners in theſe two Inſurrections, were immediately embark'd, and put aſhore on the Coaſt of *Barbary*; but their Children, who were a great many thouſands, were ſold by the Soldiers to the *Spaniards*, for ten, twelve, and fifteen Ducats a piece.

Upon this great sale of *Moriſco* Children, a hot Debate aroſe among the Caſuiſts, Whether it was lawful for thoſe that had bought them, to make them Slaves? and the King inclining to the Merciful Side, did by a Proclamation declare them, Not to be Slaves, and, *That they ſhould only ſerve thoſe that had bought them, and would give them a Chriſtian Education, as many Years after they were Twelve Years old, as they were under Twelve when they were bought.*

A fierce Debate did ariſe likewiſe betwixt the *Viceroy* and the *Archbiſhop*, concerning thoſe Children. The *Viceroy*, who thought *Valentia* was depopulated enough already, was for keeping all the *Moriſcoes* which had been ſold by the Soldiers, that were under 15 Years old, affirming, *That being diſperſed among the old Chriſtians, and having no Parents nor Relations near them, to corrupt them, they would all of courſe become true Chriſtians.* But the *Archbiſhop*, who pretended to know better than the *Viceroy*, after what age there was no making a *Mahometan* a true *Chriſtian*, was for having all the *Moriſcoes*, that were above ſeven Years of age, when they were bought, baniſhed; and having writ to the King about it, he affirm'd, *That if all the* Moriſcoes *which had been ſold by the Soldiers were kept in* Spain, *a great many thouſands of them being ten, twelve, and fifteen*

teen Years old, that after two or three Genera-tions, Valentia *would be filled with* Mahome-tans *again.* The King, after having heard what was to be offer'd on both ſides, gave Sentence, *That all that were above ſeven years old, ſhould be forthwith tranſported into* Bar-bary, *as the Archbiſhop had adviſed.* With which Sentence the *Viceroy* was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he ſuſpended the Execution of it until his Majeſty was better inform'd; affirming to every body, *That it would be a leſs Cruelty to cut the Throats of all thoſe harm-leſs and helpleſs Creatures, than to leave them on the Shore of* Barbary, *with no body to take care of them, the Parents, and near Relati-ons of moſt of them having been killed in the late Inſurrections.* I could never learn whether this Command of the King's was e-ver executed, and ſo can only ſay, that if it was, we need not wonder at his, ha-ving been under ſuch great terrors of Con-ſcience when he was upon his Death Bed, as we are told he was.

The *Moriſcoes* of the Kingdom of *Valen-cia* being all either baniſhed or killed, on the 22d of *January*, 1610, the *Band* for Expel-ling all the *Moriſcoes* in the Kingdom of *Gra-nada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil* was publiſhed by the *Marqueſs of St. German*, in the Form fol-lowing:

The KING:

'AS Reason of State does oblige in 'Conscience to exterminate all 'Things out of Kingdoms and Common-'wealths that are scandalous, and prejudici-'al to Good Subjects, and dangerous to the 'Government, and offensive to God, so it 'is manifest from Experience, that all those 'Mischiefs have hapned to the Kingdoms of '*Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, by means of 'the *Moriscoes* that live in them; who besides 'their being descended from those who re-'belled in the Kingdom of *Granada*, and who 'begun their Rebellion with murthering and 'martyring all the *Priests* and *Old Christi-'ans* they could lay their hands upon; and 'did invite the *Turk* to come and assist them; 'and who, that they might repent of their 'Wickedness, and live peaceably and ho-'nourably, after the manner of Christians, 'were removed out of that Kingdom, having 'had such things prescribed to them, as were 'sufficient to have produced that Effect; 'have deny'd to yield Obedience to our Or-'ders, or to embrace our Faith, but have to 'the great dishonour of God, gone on de-'testing it, as is manifest from the great 'Multitudes of *Moriscoes* that have been pu-'nished by the Office of the Holy Inquisi-'tion: And who besides their having com-

'mitted

'mitted divers Robberies and Murthers on 'the Perſons of Old Chriſtians, have ſent 'Deputies to the *Turks* to deſire his aſſiſtance; 'having alſo ſolicited other Princes to ſend 'them ſuccors, offering them their Perſons 'and Eſtates if they would aſſiſt them; which 'Treaſonable Councils having never been 'diſcovered by any of them, but on the con-'trary conceal'd and deny'd by them all, is 'a manifeſt Proof of their being all alike 'minded and affected as to the Obedience 'they owe to God and us, and to the ſecu-'rity of theſe Kingdoms.

'All which having been conſider'd, toge-ther with the ſtrict Obligation we are un-der to procure the Conſervation and Good of our Subjects, and being deſirous to com-ply with that Obligation; We have with the Advice of divers Learned, Pious and Prudent Perſons, and who are very zealous for Gods' ſervice and ours, determined to baniſh out of the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, and out of the Town of *Hornacos*, all the New Chriſtian *Moriſ-coes*, Men, Women, and Children, that live in them: It being expedient when a-ny heinous or deteſtible Crimes is commit-ted by ſome particular perſons of a Com-munity; to diſſolve the ſaid Society, and to exterminate all thoſe, great and ſmall, who do ſubvert the Orders of Good Go-

'vernment, to prevent the spreading of their 'Contagion.

'We do therefore by vertue of these, or- 'dain and command all New Christians, 'without exception, living or residing with- 'in the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and '*Sevil*, and in the Town of *Hornares*, of 'whatsoever Age or Sex, as well Natives as 'Strangers, whensoever, or for whatsoever 'cause they came into them, Slaves only 'excepted, within 30 Days after the publi- 'cation of these our Letters, to depart out 'of all the Kingdoms and Dominions of '*Spain*, with their Sons and Daughters, Men- 'servants, and Maid-servants, and with all 'of their Family, that are of the *Morisco* 'Race; neither shall they at any time here- 'after, presume to return to live in them, or 'pass thorow them, or any part of them 'and we do prohibit them to go thorough 'the Kingdom of *Valentia*, or *Aragon*, or 'to presume to stay in them: And in case a- 'ny of them shall after the expiration of the 'said Term be found in any of our King- 'doms and Dominions, they shall be punish 'ed with Death, and have their Estates con 'fiscated, to be disposed of at our pleasure 'which Punishments they shall incur *ipso fa- 'cto*, without farther Sentence, Process, or 'Declaration.

'An

'And we do furthermore prohibit all 'Perſons, of whatſoever Quality, State, or 'Pre-eminence in any of our Kingdoms, to 'receive, or entertain, or after the expi- 'ration of the ſaid Term, publickly, or 'privately, to protect any of the *Moriſcoes*, 'Men, or Women within any of their Houſes 'or Precincts, upon pain of forfeiting all 'their Goods, Vaſſals, Caſtles, and other 'Inheritances, as alſo, all the Graces we 'we have beſtowed on them, to our Trea- 'ſury.

'And notwithſtanding, we might juſtly 'have commanded all the Goods, Move- 'able, and Immoveable of the ſaid *Moriſcoes* 'being the Goods of Traitors, guilty of 'both Divine, and Humane Treaſon, to 'have been Confiſcate to our Treaſury: 'Nevertheleſs, being willing to treat them 'them with Clemency, Our Will is, that 'within the term of thirty days, they 'may ſell their moveable Goods, and ſuch as 'do move themſelves, and may carry the 'price thereof with them, but not in Mo- 'ney, Gold, or Silver, nor in Jewels, nor 'in Bills of Exchange, but in Commodi- 'ties that are not Prohibited, and which 'ſhall be bought of the Natives of theſe 'Kingdoms, and not of others, and ſhall 'be likewiſe of the growth of theſe King- 'doms. And the ſaid *Moriſcoes*, and *Mo-*

'*risca*'s, may, during the term of the said 'thirty days, dispose of themselves and such 'Goods, and may change them for the 'said Commodities and Fruits, and may, 'paying the customary Dutys, carry with 'them what they have bought, reserving 'all their immovable Goods to Our self, to 'be laid out for the Service of God, and 'the good of the Publick, as shall be judged most convenient: We do declare, that 'We do take their Persons, and all their 'Goods, during the said term, under Our 'protection, and Royal Publick Faith, that 'they may, during the said time, go about 'in safety, and security, and may change, 'or alienate the said moveable Goods, or, 'which do move themselves, and may lay 'out the price thereof, whether in Gold, 'Silver, or Jewels, in buying the Commodities of these Kingdoms of the Natives, and that they may not, during the 'said term, be any ways injured in their 'Persons, or Goods, under the Penalties incurred by those that do violate the 'Royal Publick Faith. And we do furthermore grant Power and License to the said '*Moriscoes* of both Sexes, to carry the said 'said Commodities and Fruits out of these 'Our Kingdoms and Dominions, either by 'Sea or Land, paying the customary Duties for them, provided, as is aboveſaid,

that

'that they export no Gold, Silver, or ſtampt 'Money, or any other Commodities pro- 'hibited by the Laws of theſe our King- 'doms, either in Specie, or in Bills of Ex- 'change nor no other Goods and Fruits 'that are Prohibed, only they may carry ſo 'much Money with them as is neceſſary 'to the defraying of the Charges of their 'Journey by Land or Sea: And we do 'command all the Miniſters of Juſtice of 'theſe Kingdoms, and all the Commanders 'of our Gallies and Galleons, to cauſe all the 'foreſaid Orders to be obſerved and fulfill'd, 'and to yield all convenient favour and aſ- 'ſiſtance to the due and ſpeedy execution of 'the ſame.

'And we do command theſe our Letters, 'and all that is contained in them, to be 'publiſhed by the Mouth of a Cryer, that 'they may come to the knowledge of all, 'none may pretend ignorance.

Given at *Madrid*, the 9th of *December*, 1609.

I, The KING.

Andrew de Prada.

Now

Notwithstanding the *Moriscoes* were commanded by this *Band*, to *Take all their Children with them:* the Marquess of *St. Germane* had a secret Order from the King, *To stop the Children, Male and Female, that were under seven Years old; of all the* Moriscoes *that fraughted Ships to carry them and their Families to* Barbary, *or to any Country that was not subject to the Pope.* But the *Moriscoes* having had some intelligence of this Order, all of them that had Children under that Age, fraughted Ships, or took their Passage for *France*, or *Italy*; to which Countries the most of them never went; having after they were at Sea, made a new Bargain with the Masters of the Ships, to put them ashore in *Barbary*; and those that did go to *Italy* with their Families, made no stay there, but did pass over to *Barbary* by the first opportunity that offer'd.

The King's having given leave to these *Moriscoes* to sell all their movable Goods, and all that did move themselves, and to carry the Price of those Goods away with them, in the Fruits and Manufactures of *Spain* bought of the Natives, tho' it looked like a Favour, was of very little benefit to them; for being so limited, the Natives bought the *Moriscos* Goods very cheap, and sold their own very dear.

On

On the 29th of *May*, 1610. the *Band* for the Expulſion of all the *Moriſcoes* in the Kingdom of *Aragon* was publiſhed by *Gaſton de Moncada*, Marqueſs of *Aytona*, *Viceroy* of that Kingdom; by which *Band* ſixteen thouſand Families were turned out of the Kingdom of *Aragon*: And on the ſame day the *Band* for expelling all the *Moriſcoes* in the Paincipality of *Catalonia*, was publiſhed by *Don Hector Pignatello*, Duke of *Monteleon* the Gonor: Which two *Bands* of Expulſion being almoſt Word for Word the ſame with that of *Valentia*: I ſhall not here inſert them.

By a Letter baring Date the 2d of *January*, 1610, the King gave leave to all the *Moriſcoes* in *Old* and *New Caſtile*, *Eſtremadura*, and *Mancha*, to ſell all their movable Goods, and go into *France*; but as there was not one *Moriſco* Family that made uſe of that ſurprizing Licenſe, ſo had they offered to have done it, it is more than probable that they would have been ſtopt; this Licence having been granted for no other end, but to diſcover how the *Caſtilian Moriſcoes* ſtood affected to the *French*, with whom the Court of *Spain*, to juſtifie their Expelling of them, would needs have them to be in a Correſpondence.

Upon

upon the *Moriscoes* not having left *Spain* when they had leave, they were all expelled by the following *Band*, which was published on the 11th of *July* 1610.

The King.

'WHereas we have commanded the 'Expulsion of all the new Christi-'ans, and *Moriscoes*, Men and Women who 'lived in the Kingdoms of *Valentia*, *Anda-'lusia*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, *Catalonia*, and *Ara-'gon*; for the Reasons and Causes mentio-'ned in the several Bands We did order to 'be published, and we did also give Per-'mission to all of that Race inhabiting in 'the Kingdoms of Old and New *Castile*, '*Estremadura*, and *Mantha*; to go if they 'had a mind to it, out of these our King-'doms and Dominions; and having been 'by divers certain ways informed, that such 'of them as have not made use of that Li-'cense, do continue in quiet, and do go 'on selling their Estates with an Intention 'of leaving these Kingdoms, and being sa-'tisfy'd, that the *Moriscoes* all over *Spain* 'were all affected alike as to God's Service 'and ours, and the Good of these King-'doms; all the Endeavours that have been 'used thorough a long Series of Years to 'convert them, and the Examples of the 'Old Christians, the Natives of these King-

'doms

'doms, who do live ſo Chriſtianly and ſo 'loyally, having had no good Effect upon 'them: On the contrary, they have with 'a ſtrange Obſtinacy and Obdurateneſs, en-'tred into Conſpiracies againſt us, our roy-'al Crown, and theſe our Kingdoms of '*Spain*, having ſollicited the *Turk* and other 'Princes for Succours, with Promiſes to 'ſerve them with their Lifes and Fortunes; 'And notwithſtanding this undutiful beha-'viour which is ſo offenſive to God, has 'been layd before us, by Men of great Piety 'and Learning, and who have further aſſu-'red us, that we were bound in Conſcience 'to remedy it, and might without any 'Scruple proceed againſt them, with the 'Rigour that their Crimes do deſerve, and 'ſo puniſh them all with Death and the 'Confiſcation of their Eſtates, as Hereticks, 'Apoſtates, and Traytors both to God and 'us: Nevertheleſs, we not being willing to 'uſe rigour, but to uſe Clemency with 'them after having recommended this Af-'fair to God, whoſe Honour is ſo much con-'cerned in it, we have reſolved for the Se-'curity of our Kingdoms, and of our good 'and loyal Subjects, with the Advice of 'our Council of State and Prelates, and 'other prudent Perſons, zealous for God's 'Service and ours, to expel out of the ſaid 'Kingdoms of Old and New *Caſtile*, *Eſtre-*

'*madura*,

'*madura*, and *Mancha*; all the new Chri-
'stians of *Valentia*, *Granada*, and *Arragon*,
'that live therein, Men Women and Chil-
'dren; it being reasonable when any hei-
'nous and detestable Crime is committed
'by some of the Members of a Society or
'Community, to dissolve the Society for
'it, the lesser suffering with, and for, the
'greater; or when any do corrupt Coun-
'treys, Cities, or Villages, that they be ba-
'nish'd out of them, to prevent the spread-
'ing of their Contagion.

'We do therefore by Virtue of this pre-
'sent or of a Copy of it signed by a publick
, Notary: Command and Ordain all the
'said New Christians and *Moriscoes* of *Gra-*
'*nada*, *Valentia*, and *Arragon*; living in the
'said Kingdoms of Old and New *Castile*,
'*Estremadura*, and *Mancha*; Men and Wo-
'men of whatsoever Age, or for whatso-
'ever Cause they did come into and reside
'in the said Kingdoms, within 60 days af-
'ter the publication of this Writing, to go
'out of *Spain* and all the Dominions there-
'of; with their Sons and Daughters, and
'all their Servants that are of the *Moriscoe*
'Race, neither shall any of them hereafter
'ever presume to return into them, or
'into any part of them, either to live or
'pass thro' them, which Command is no
'to be so understood, as to expel any Chri-
'stians

'ſtians that are married to *Moriſcoes*, or 'their Husbands, Wives, or Children, nor 'any of the *Moors* who have come of their 'own accord from *Barbary*, that they 'might profeſs Chriſtianity, nor any of the *Moriſcoes* that are Clerks, Friars or Nuns, 'nor ſuch of them as are Slaves of the Re-'bellion of *Granada*.

'And we do prohibit the *Moriſcoes* that are to be expelled, to paſs thro' the Kingdoms of *Valentia*, *Aragon*, or *Caſtile*, but to repair to the Ports of the Kingdoms of *Murcia*, *Granada*, and *Andaluzia*; or to return into any of our Kingdoms upon pain of Death. And in caſe any of them ſhall after the expiration of the ſaid Term, be found in any of our Kingdoms, they ſhall be put to Death, and their Eſtates ſhall be forfeited and apply'd to ſuch uſes as we ſhall judge fit: To which Puniſhments we do deliver them, as Perſons condemned *de facto*, without any Proceſs, Sentence, or Declaration.

'And we do prohibit all perſons, of whatſoever ſtate, quality, preheminence, or condition, publickly, or privately, to receive, entertain, or protect any *Moriſco* or *Moriſca*, after the expiration of the ſaid Term, in any of their Lands or Houſes, or in any other place, upon pain of forfeiting all their Goods, Vaſſals, Fortreſſes, and o-

'ther

'ther Inheritances, together with all their
'Pensions to my Treasury. And notwith-
'standing we might justly have seized on all
'the Goods of the said *Moriscoes* Movables
'and Immovables; as on the Goods of peo-
'ple, guilty both of Divine and Humane
'Treason; nevertheless, being willing to
'use Clemency with them, it is our pleasure
'that they may, during the Term of the said
'60 Days, sell all their Movable Goods, and
'all that do move themselves, and carry their
'Prices with them, but not in Money, Gold,
'Plate, or Jewels, nor in Bills of Exchange,
'but in such Commodities as are not pro-
'hibited, and are bought of the Natives of
'these Kingdoms, and of none else; and the
'*Moriscos* and *Moriscas* may, during the term
'of the said 60 days, dispose of their mo-
'vable Goods, and of those that do move
'themselves, and with the Price of them,
'may buy the said Commodities and Fruits
'of the Country, and carry away with them
'those they buy so, their Real Estates being
'forfeited to our Treasury, to be apply'd to
'the Service of God, and of the Publick, accor-
'ding to our Directions; and we do declare
'that we do take, and do receive them un-
'der our protection, Royal Security, and
'Defence; and do so secure them and
'their Goods, that they may go about safe-
'ly, and sell, change, or alienate all their

'said

'ſaid movable Goods, or that do move themſelves, may lay out the Money, Gold, Plate, or Jewels, they receive for them, on Commodities bought of Natives of the Country; neither will we ſuffer any, during the ſaid Term, to offer them any injury in their Perſons or Goods, under the Penalties ſuffered by the Violaters of the Publick Faith.

'And we do farther grant Licenſe and Power to the ſaid *Moriſcoes* of both Sexes, to carry the ſaid Commodities and Fruits out of theſe Kingdoms either by Sea or Land, paying the cuſtomary Duties for them; and notwithſtanding it is againſt the Laws of our Kingdoms to export any Gold, Silver, or Jewels out of them, we do grant them Licenſe to export them, provided it be all regiſtred, and the one half be paid to our Treaſury at the Port where they embark, where an Officer ſhall be appointed to receive it, as has been done by the other *Moriſcoes* that were baniſhed.

'And we do Command all Magiſtrates and Juſtices, and all the Commanders of Gallies and Galeoons, to ſee that all that is here ordered be obſerved and fulfilled, and to yield all convenient Favour and Aſſiſtance to the due and ſpeedy Execution of the ſame.

'We do Command these our Letters, and 'all that is contained therein to be publish-'ed by the Voice of a Cryer, that so none 'may pretend Ignorance.

Given at *Aranda* the
10th of *July* 1610.

I the KING.

Anthony De

The Spanish Historians are not agreed about the number of the *Moriscoes* that were expelled *Spain* at this time; some say they were a Million, others, that they were nine hundred Thousand, but by the most they are said to have been six hundred Thousand Men Women and Children, besides the slain, and detained.

This great loss of People falling upon a Countrey that was far from being over-stock'd with People before, which in Truth no Nation can be; and which besides those that were expelled, had few that were industrious, or that were skilled in most of her profitable Manufactures, it was such a fatal blow o *Spain*, that she has not to this day, nor is ever like to recover of it, For as it is visible to every Body that *Spain*

is

is not a quarter peopled, nor is ever like to be, ſo long as ſhe has ſuch prodigious Numbers of Prieſts, Monks, Friers, Nuns, &c. and has the great and conſtant drains of the *Indies*, *Flanders*, and *Italy*: So it is no leſs viſible, that her ſcantling of people are by their Pride and Superſtition, more than by their Climate, made ſo lazy, that nothing, no not her being the ſole Miſtreſs of all the Treaſures of the *Indies*, can ever make her rich: which vaſt Treaſures tho' dug and brought into *Europe* by none but Spaniſh Subjects, can never ſtay in *Spain* while the *Indies* from whence they are brought, are ſupply'd with Goods, not manufactured in *Spain*, but in foreign Countries.

It was not long after theſe Expulſions, that *Spain* began to feel the bad effects they had upon her, as is plain from a Memorial delivered in the Year 1618. to *Philip* the 3d. by a *Junta* that had been aſſembled by the King, to conſider how the ruinous ſtate of his Kingdoms might be remedy'd; the Memorial begins with the following Complaint.

'THE depopulation and want of People in *Spain*, is at preſent much greater than was ever ſeen or heard of before, in the Reigns of any of your Maje-

'sty's Progenitors; it being in Truth so 'great at this time, that if God do not pro-'vide such a Remedy for us, as we may ex-'pect from your Majesty's Piety and Wis-'dom, the Crown of *Spain* is hastning to 'its total Ruin and Destruction; nothing 'being more visible than that *Spain esta a* 'pique de dar in terra, that is, *is on the Point* 'of falling flat on the Ground, its Houses be-'ing in Ruins every where, and without 'any Body to rebuild them, and its Towns 'and Villages do lye like so many Desarts

In the same Year whereon this melan choly Memorial was delivered to the King the Duke of *Lerma* the chief Author of al these depopulating Expulsions, was turne from Court, and out of all his Offices, hi chief Confident and Counsellor *Don Rodri go Calderon*, being committed at the sam time to Prison, was after two years an a half Imprisonment, put to death publick ly in the great *Placa* of *Madrid*; the Duk his Patron's head having been secu red, by the Pope's having covered it wit a Cardinal's Hat, after he began to find i self in danger, which was not many Week before, his falling into Disgrace.

His Brother the Cardinal Archbishop *Toledo*, who had been a zealous Promot of the Expulsions, died, a few days aft th

the Duke was turn'd from Court, purely of Grief and Diſcontent: There was alſo one *Baltaſar de Sandoval* Dean of *Toledo* who was either Brother or a near Kinſman of the Duke's, and who after the Expulſions, was made a Cardinal by *Paul* the 5th, ſo that there were three Cardinals living at the ſame time of the Family of *Lerma*, which is more than any Family, the Pope's own Families not excepted, has to boaſt of; ſo great a Service was the Expulſion the *Moiſcoes* reckoned to be by the Court of *Rome*.

King *Philip*, who died ſoon after, is ſaid, y a Famous *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, to have had is Conſcience, upon his Death Bed overhelm'd with Horrours: And though we e not told by any, what it was that caud them; yet conſidering, that beſides theſe humane Expulſions, we read of nothing his whole Life that was Black or Tragil: It may reaſonably be preſumed, that was the Memory of the Expulſions that ſquieted his Conſcience ſo much: Neither it any wonder that they ſhould do it; to ave, contrary to all the Laws of Religion, id Humanity, made above an hundred ouſand Families miſerable beyond expreſon; being a dreadful thing to reflect on,

when one is summoned by Death to answer for it before the Divine Tribunal; where they are to have Judgment without Mercy, who have shewed no Mercy to their Fellow Creatures.

A SER-

A

SERMON

Preached in the

Cathedral of *Valentia*,

By the Archbiſhop of that City,

On the *Sunday* after the *Band* for the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes* out of that Kingdom was Publiſhed.

Praiſed be the Moſt Holy Sacrament:

THough *the Goſpel of the Day is full of Doctrine, teaching how we ought to love God, and our Neighbours, which are the two*

Hinges whereon the whole Doctrine of the Gospel turns; nevertheless, I have not thought fit to spend the little Time that is allowed me, on that Subject, remitting it to some other Occasion: What at present offers it self in this City and Kingdom, and with which you are all acquainted, being more urgent. Neither do I reckon that in doing so, I transgress the Rule that ought to be observed by those that ascend the Pulpit, but do therein rather comply with what the Spirit of God hath taught us; directing us to apply our Doctrine to the Occurrences of the Times; after the Example of Skilful Physicians, and Prudent Stewards, who have recourse to the Distemper that is most dangerous, and the Affairs of the Family that are the most pressing: This St. Paul *advised his Disciple* Timothy *to do; instructing him in the Method he was to use in his Preaching:* Preach, *saith he,* the Word; *but does not tell what Word: On purpose to teach, that in this place, no other Words but those of God ought to be spoken, which only do deserve, by way of Eminency, to be called The Word;* And which, *as our Lord saith,* giveth Spirit and Life. *But the Apostle goes on;* Preach the Word without being weary; *and with great instance and vehemence, and observe the Opportunity and Occasion, and let not your Words be as the Words of an Imprudent Man; which the Holy Spirit compares to spoils strow'd and scatter'd in the*

way,

way, without order or conſideration. This Doctrine the Apoſtle himſelf learnt from what Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples, That he deſerved to be called the Faithful Steward, who paid his Lords Servants what was owing to them; and he the prudent, who gave them their Meat in due time and Seaſon: *And* St. Chryſoſtom, *ſpeaking of this place, ſaith,* Two things our Lord aſſigned here as neceſſary, and which do ſo depend the one on the other, that if the one be wanting, the other is of no advantage; Faithfulneſs in looking after the Rents; and Prudence in diſpenſing Proviſions in their ſeaſon: *And it is the Obſervation of* St. Hierome, *that when the Prophet* Malachy *ſaith,* The Prieſts Lips ſhall preſerve Knowledg; *that his meaning was, That the Lips of the Prieſt is to preach Knowledge, and to publiſh Doctrine in its ſeaſon. We may therefore very well forbear to ſpeak at this Time of the Man that was cured of the Dropſie, to treat of the preſent Novelty we ſee in this Kingdom; out of which his Majeſty has commanded all the New Chriſtians to depart, which is a thing of greater conſideration and importance, than ever hapned to our Anceſtors, or than may ever be ſeen by our Poſterity: Let us therefore beſeech the Lord to aſſiſt us with his Grace, taking the moſt Bleſſed Virgin for our Interceſſor,* &c.

To treat hereof, I have thought fit to consider the Words of the Apostle St. Paul, *writ to the* Galatians:

GAL. V. 12.

I wish they were cut off that trouble you.

THE Holy *Apostle* had endeavoured to convert the *Gentile Greeks* of that City to the Faith of the *Gospel*, and a great many of them had given some Signs of their being converted; but who, thorough the Bad Conversation of the *Gentiles*, among whom they lived, had been disquieted, to the creating of great Disturbances in that City; the *Apostle*, in order to remedy those Mischiefs, writes to them: And the first Remedy he prescribed was; That for their Conservation, and for the Cessation of Disturbances, to beseech the Lord, that the Infidels that troubled them might be cut off.

The Word, *Utinam*, has a great Emphasis, signifying a most anxious and fervent desire; as if he had said, I wish I could see those that trouble you cut off and destroy'd; O that God would be so gracious to me, as to

to let me ſee thoſe that diſturb and ſcandalize you, drove out from among you.

Now ſuch an Affection and Deſire, is what all in general ought to have, it being an effect of that zeal for the honour and glory of God, which is every ones Duty; being part of the *Command* of *Loving God*, which is the *Firſt Commandment* of the *Holy Law*; Zeal being the effect of that Love; ſo where there is no great love for God, there is little zeal for his honour; and by how much the greater ſuch a Love is, ſo much the greater is ſuch a Zeal; and whereas God's Love, which is infinite, is much greater than any other Love, ſo, for that Reaſon, God's Zeal is much greater than any other Zeal; inſomuch, that he is called by way of Excellency, *The Zealot*, as we are told by one that knew much of God, and had ſpoke with him, as one Friend ſpeaketh with another; and ſo as when ye hear the Almighty, the Infinite, the Saviour, the Glorifier named, you underſtand God; ſo when you hear the *Zelot*, you ought to underſtand it of God likewiſe. The Divine *Apoſtle* diſcovered his Holy Zeal, in ſaying, O that I might ſee thoſe that trouble your Peace expelled from among you: A wiſh worthy of an *Apoſtle* and Miniſter of God, and moſt acceptable to our Lord; and that it was ſo, our Lord would have *St. John* know from his own Mouth, and by whom

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it is left written in the *Book* of his *Revelations*, for the Information of all future Ages; the Holy and Beloved *Apostle* saith, *On the Lord's Day*; a Day famous for having been consecrated by the Triumphant Resurrection of our *Lord Jesus Christ*: As if we should say, our *Lord Christ* spoke to me on his own Day, on the Day whereon he received the due Reward of his Obedience; which was the *Lord's Day*: And he commanded me to tell the Bishop of the City of *Ephesus*, I know the Works that thou do'st, and the Troubles thou undergoest in thy Ministry, and the patience wherewith thou endurest them; and leaving the most important to the last, I know likewise thou canst not bear with them that are evil: And in the same Extacy and Rapture our Lord Christ commanded him likewise, to tell the Bishop of *Smirna*, I know thy Tribulation, and how, though thou art rich before me, thou art poor in the Eyes of men, and art spoken against, and outraged by those, who say, they are faithful, but are rather of the Congregation of Satan. So from what we have said, we may gather how acceptable a thing it is to God, that we should be zealous for his Honour, and for abhorring Evil Doers, undergo Trouble and Persecution

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And this ſame Doctrine which Chriſt was pleaſed to declare to St. *John* by word of Mouth, he himſelf preached in Fact to his Apoſtles, and all the Faithful, and that not only once, but twice, and upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions, and that on purpoſe to make his Followers ſenſible of its great Importance, and that we, Paſtors and Biſhops might learn with our Lord Chriſt, who is called by St. *Peter*, the *Paſtor and Biſhop*, and who, when he had occaſion, ſhewed himſelf zealous for the Honour of his Eternal Father, complying therein with the will of a *Zealot*.

The Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, St. *Matthew*, and St. *John*, do give us an Account of a thing that hapned twice to our Lord Chriſt. St. *John* ſaith, it hapned once at the beginning of his Preaching, after his having wrought his firſt Miracle in of *Cana* of *Galilee*. And St. *Matthew* ſaid, it hapned a ſecond time, four days before our Lord was Crucifi'd; ſo that our Lord did, both at the beginning, and end of his Preaching, teach us this Doctrine: Our Lord Chriſt, ſays the Evangeliſt, went into the Temple, and ſeeing that what was done there was contrary to God's Honour, the Zealous God took the Cords, wherewith the Sheep and Oxen were bound, and having made a Whip of them, he went about ſha-

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king it at those Cattle, and Men, driving them all out of the Temple; and as to those that sold Pigeons, he commanded them to be gone with them; and going up to the Tables of the Money-changers, he threw them down upon the Ground, scattering about the Money that was upon 'em: Now let us consider this Fact, and we shall see, that besides its being the greatest Miracle that ever Christ wrought, for so St. *Hierom* saith it was, who affirms it to be greater than the Raising of *Lazarus* from the Dead; the repressing of so many, and in the sight of so great a concourse of People, after such a manner, none of them offering to lay hold of him, or denying to obey him, notwithstanding they were at that time contriving his Death, being a thing, that nothing but the Almighty God could have done. But to pass over this, and come to that which Men and Angels do admire, that is, how it was possible for one, of our Saviour's Mildness, Modesty, and Composure to do such a work; to whip Men, to thrust them violently out of the Temple, to break tables, and throw Money about, not appearing to be Actions suitable to the benignity and practice of our Lord Christ, of whom the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, that he should be patient, and gentle as a Lamb, and that when they should take his

his Cloaths from him, he would not open his mouth, as was accompliſhed at his moſt Holy Paſſion; and who, when he was Curſed, Curſed not again, when he was Tormented, did not Complain, having reſign'd up his Will to his Father Eternal, who Judgeth Juſtly, and yet this very mild Lamb, whoſe Patience and Silence under Injuries was ſo much admired by the perverſe Preſident, when there was an occaſion offered of remedying things that were offenſive to God, turned fierce, and forgetting, as we may ſay, his Compoſedneſs, he changed the Mildneſs of a Sheep into the fierceneſs and boiſterouſneſs of a Lion. There is one word ſpoke by St. *John*, that in my Opinion, is worthy of our Conſideration, in being a ſatisfactory Anſwer to all that has been ſaid; that Diſciple ſaith, he remembred that it was written, *the Zeal of thy Honour*, that is, *of thy Houſe*, the Temple being the place where God was Honoured, *as eaten me up*, that is, has maſhed and chewed me as a thing that is eaten, broken and chewed: From whence I gather, that the Diſciples being aſtoniſhed at this ſtrange action of their Maſters, and conferring together about what ſhould be the cauſe of his having done a thing ſo contrary to his cuſtom, what was ſaid by the Holy King *David* occurred to them, and what he had

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both done himſelf, and had Prophecied of Chriſt, of whom he was a Type, ſaying one to another thereupon, this zeal is like that of the mild, and patient King *David*, who was a King of ſuch Benignity and Clemency, that he alledged his Benignity and Clemency to God, who judgeth the thoughts according to truth, knowing the heart, who finding himſelf Perſecuted, ſaid, Lord remember *David* and all his *Mildneſs*, which was ſo great after he was Anointed King, that being Perſecuted by *Saul*, to take away his Life, with that eagerneſs wherewith a Fowler purſues a Partridge in the Mountains, when he had two opportunities of having kill'd *Saul*, and was adviſed to it by his Companions, he would not do it, nor lay hands on him: but beſides this, hear another Inſtance of his Mildneſs; When a Kinſman of *Saul*'s met him, and Curſed him bitterly, and caſt ſtones at him, as one caſt off by God, *David* was ſo far from revenging this Affront, that he repoved one of his Company for offering to do it, ſaying, *let him Curſe me, ſince God would have him do it.* How clear a proof is this of *David*'s Mildneſs?

But you muſt now hear ſomething of the Zeal that accompanied this Mildneſs, and the Fury wherewith he flew upon God's Enemies, who ſpoke Blaſphemies, and committed

mitted Sacrilege in his Houſe; the zeal whereof ſaith he, has confounded me, and the beholding the Offences that are committed has deſtroyed me, the abhorrence I have for thoſe that will not love God being ſo vehement, that it has caſt me into an Hectick Fever, which conſumes me, neither did he only in his Life-time revenge the Injuries that were done to God, but at his Death he charged his Son *Solomon* to revenge them; ſo that in *David* we ſee, a King that is Mild and Rigid, Merciful and Severe, a Pardoner, and a Revenger, and that was both patient and zealous.

And I do now ask the Queſtion, whether Kings that are both Benign and Rigorous, ended with *David*? No, let us give thanks o God, for having given us a King with hoſe Qualities, and let us thank him a thouand times for ſuch a ſingular Mercy, who s able to expreſs the Modeſty, Mildneſs, nd Benignity our Lord the King *Don Phiip* III. brought into the World with him, nd which continued with him in his Childood, and continues now he is of perfect Age; it is known to every Body, and all hat have ever been in his Royal Preence have felt it, and are aſtoniſh'd at it, nd do publiſh it to all the World, and s this is the Mildneſs of *David*, ſo this

great Mildness has been exercised, not only towards his own Faithful Subjects, but towards Infidels and Traytors to his Royal Person and Crown: his Majesty from the hour he began his happy Reign, having been extremely afflicted with the Offences have been done to God in *Spain*, by the *Moriscoes* that live in it; who notwithstanding their having been baptized, do follow the Law of *Mahomet*, teaching it likewise to their Children, and observing all the Rites of the *Alcoran* publickly, and despising the Ceremonies of the Holy Church, and deriding the *Sacraments*, *Images*, and other Sacred Things: All which Mischiefs his Majesty endeavour'd to have remedy'd with Mildness, and with so great application, as if he had no other Business, procuring *Edicts of Grace* of his *Holiness*, and writing to the *Bishops* of this Kingdom concerning it; manifesting likewise how earnestly he desired the reduction of those Infidels, by commanding Places to be erected for the Instruction of their Boys and Girls, and ordering a Junto of us to meet in this City, to find out some ways, if it was possible, to cure those *Hereticks* of their Obstinacy and Obduratness, which was lamented by him with such tender Expressions, as filled us all with admiration and confusion; having likewise to facilitate this Conversion, made Offers of Rewards

wards and Priviledges to thoſe that would turn: All which proclaims the greatneſs of his Majeſty, Clemency and Benignity, as it does alſo the greatneſs of the *Moriſcoes* Wickedneſs, who had ſhut the Door againſt the Truth of the *Goſpel*, and againſt all the Means that could be made uſe of for their Converſion: Theſe are the Demonſtrations of *David*'s, I mean, of our Lord the King's Clemency and Benignity.

Let us now caſt our Eye on the Zeal for God's Honour, which his Majeſty has joined with this his Benignity and Mildneſs: Who having been inform'd by true and certain Advices, that amidſt all theſe Endeavours uſed for the Converſion of thoſe People, that they were plotting, and ſending Embaſſies to the *Turk*, and other Heretical Princes and Potentates, who were Enemies to God, and the Crown of *Spain*, to invite them to invade and conquer it, offering them an 150000 paid Soldiers, and divers other Conveniencies; by which Promiſes made to encourage the Enterprize, the ſaid Infidels were ſo far engaged, that they were preparing all Neceſſaries to invade us the next Spring; ſo that within ſix Months we would have had the *Turkiſh* Fleet, and that of our other Enemies upon our Coaſt, and muſt have ſeen *Spain* in a moſt forlorn and wretched Condition; for though thorough

the mercy of God, and the ardure and power of the King, we trust those Traytors would not have been able to have compass'd their Desires; nevertheless, taking us unprepared, we should not have been able to have succour'd all the parts of the Kingdom, and so must necessarily have sustain'd great Losses, in the destruction of our Holy Temples, and by Sacriledges committed against the most Holy Sacrament, and the Contempt that would have been put upon those Sanctuaries and Reliques, which are preserved in this Holy Temple, and in other Churches, as the most precious of all Treasures, and in the Murther and Martyrdom of all of us that are now alive; and of our Children and Brethren; and finally, in having the Name of *Mahomet* venerated in *Spain*, and that of our *Lord Jesus Christ* blasphemed.

All which Evils we should infallibly have incurr'd by having these Domestick Enemies among us, who do thirst to drink our Blood, that they may make themselves Masters of *Spain*: For which reason the Spirit of God did council us by the Mouth of the *Wiseman*, *Not to have our Enemy near us*, nor to suffer him to sit by us; because he will undoubtedly endeavour to turn us out of our Seat, that he may take it to himself. You have now heard of, and do admire at the

Mildness

Mildneſs our Lord the King has uſed with theſe People, and at his Patience in winking at their Faults; let us now treat of his Majeſty's Holy Zeal and Reſolution.

His Majeſty finding all the Remedies he had apply'd to the Converſion of theſe People unſucceſsful, and that inſtead of profiting thereby, they were the more hardned in their Errors and Hereſies, he reſolv'd to uſe a Remedy; which beſides its being the only Remedy that remained, is ſo admirable and divine, that Human Prudence without a particular light and ſuccour from Heaven could never have found it out, for the Example of the World, and the admiration of all that do, or ſhall ever live therein: Methinks I hear the Lord our King uſing the ſame Words with the Royal *Prophet*, in the 117th *Pſalm*, *The time is come, Lord, to do*; without telling what was to be done; to ſignifie, that the Work was ſo admirable and amazing, that it would aſtoniſh the World when they beheld it, and that that Work would comprehend a great many other Works within it; as if we ſhould ſay, the Work of Works, the Enterprize of Enterprizes; for ſuch is that which we have now in our hands; Who my Brethren is able to exaggerate it with Words, or is able to conceive the Chriſtianity, the Prudence, the Magnanimity, the Grandeur, that are con-

tained in this Work. For my own part, I find my self unable to express and dissect it, and so I shall give it over, and content my self with having said, that it is a Work worthy of such a King, and that such a King was worthy to be the Author of so Catholick and wise a Resolution.

And whereas all his Majesty's faithful Subjects do desire that the effects of the Prudence and Holy Zeal wherewith God has inspired his Royal Soul may appear in his Government, as also the effects of his Grandeur, and of the Power of his Royal Crown, so in this Work we see our Desires abundantly comply'd with; which does not only equal all that has ever been done by his Famous Predecessors, but exceeds them all, so as to eclipse them: And that you may be sensible of the Truth of what I say, it is fit you should understand, that the Expulsion of the *Moors* out of this Kingdom, has been a thing that has been much desired and endeavoured, by our Lord the King's Predecessors, tho' never executed by them.

Let us begin with the First Conqueror, the Famous King *Don James*, who being at *Calatagud* two and twenty Years after he had subdued the Kingdom of *Valentia*, was, as the History informs us, told by a Gentleman of his Court, *That there was News, that one of the Chief Men among the* Moors *of* Valentia

lentia *had taken the Caſtles of* Gallineva, Pego, *and others*; at which, though the King diſcovered he was troubled, nevertheleſs he comforted himſelf, uſing the following Words, *I am glad they have given us occaſion to drive them all out of the Kingdom, that where the filthy Name of* Mahomet *is invocated, the ſweet Name of* Jeſus *our Maſter, Redeemer, and true God may be praiſed and adored:* And accordingly, on the Day of the *Epiphany*, in the Year 1262, the Command of the King was publiſhed in this very Church, *That all the* Moors *ſhould within a Month depart out of the Kingdom of* Valentia. This had no effect by reaſon of the Wars that broke out with the King of *Caſtile*; nevertheleſs, the ſaid Chriſtian and Valiant King continued ſtill determined to baniſh them all, and did accordingly in his *Will*, which he made a little before his Death, charge his Son King *Don Pedro* to do it.

Don Ferdinand, who according to ſome *Writers*, was the firſt that was honoured by the Church of *Rome*, with the Title of *Catholick*, and which has been ever ſince retained by the Kings of *Spain*, did likewiſe, as Hiſtorians tell us, command them all to be baniſhed; which is confirmed by what is related in the *Letters* writ by our Lord the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, to the Lords of the

Vassals of this Kingdom, in the Year 1525; in which the following words are to be met with; *After our happy Succession in these our Kingdoms and Dominions of* Spain, *the Thing we have laid most to heart, was to cleanse them from Infidelity, Imitating therein the Catholick King and Queen, my Grandfather and Grandmother of Glorious Memory, who took so much pains in that matter: For which Reason we are determined, not to suffer any* Moors *to remain in any of our Kingdoms, otherwise than in Slavery: To which Determination his Majesty was pushed on by* Pope Clement *the* VIIth; *who by a* Breve, *Dated at* St. Peter's *at* Rome, *the 12th of* May, 1524, *Exhorted him to procure the Instruction of the* Moors; *and in case they refused to be instructed, to command them all, Either to leave* Spain, *or to be made Slaves: The Result of which Diligence, was the taking of that Expedient which was so prejudicial to all, as was the Baptizing of them; imagining, that so soon as they were in the Bosome of the* Church, *they would all have become Believers; but Experience has shewed, how they abused that* Sacrament, *with great Sacriledge and Blasphemy.*

Our Lord the King, *Don Philip* II. After he Succeded in these Kingdoms, had

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the ſame deſire, and accordingly, in the Year 1568. he commanded the Prelates of this Kingdom to meet together to find out ſome Remedy, the moſt Reverend *Don Fernando de Loaze*, being at that time Archbiſhop of this Metropolis, in which Aſſembly there were ſeveral conſiderable conſtitutions framed, which having been found to be of no advantage, in the Year 1587, another Aſſembly was appointed, at which I was preſent, in which there were made ſeveral new Conſtitutions, after which, his Majeſty being ſatisfied that all the diligence he had uſed did ſignifie nothing, and that they ſtill perſevered in their Hereſie, he reſolved either to have ſent them all out of *Spain*, or at leaſt, to have tranſplanted 'em into the In-land Countries, which would have been attended with the ſame, if not greater Inconveniencies.

Finally, the laſt year, we, the Prelates, were Aſſembled again by his Majeſty's Command, as you all know: now from what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt that this Enterprize has been deſired by a Pope, an Emperor, and four Kings, who were all hindred from Executing it by the greatneſs of the Work, under which they all ſunk, and were worſted by it; they were ſenſible of the neceſſity there was of clearing *Spain* of

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them, acknowledging the evident danger it was in, whilst those Domestick Enemies remained in it, but the moles and greatness of the Enterprize did so far Conquer their Courage, that they were overcome by the multitude of inconveniencies which were represented to them, as the consequence thereof. Which mighty Enterprize, I do really believe was reserved by Divine Providence, on purpose to give undeniable Testimony of the Paternal Succour where with it attends the Actions and Person of our Lord the King; that that which a Valiant Conqueror, a Catholick King, an Emperor, so much celebrated in the World, for the many Victories he gained over the *Turks* and *Hereticks*, and Catholicks too that were his Enemies; and a King whose Prudence was so well known and admired tho' they desired it, durst not undertake it is now executed by our Lord the King, with so great Zeal for the Glory and Honour of our Lord God, with such admirable Courage and Prudence, that we now see it begun, and shall, by the favour of God see it quickly concluded and ended, and the Kingdom of *Valentia* Recovered, not in many years, as it was Recovered by the *Christian* Kings, but in a few Months more. Does it not appear to you that I had reason to say, that this is the greatest Action that

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we have ſeen in our own, or have Read of in paſt times. After this, how great ingratitude would it be in us of this Kingdom, not to acknowledge with particular thanks, the Mercy which God, and his Majeſty has done us, in beginning this Noble Enterprize here, ought we not to return thanks to God for his having choſe this, among the infinite Kingdoms firſt to receive Safety; and his Majeſty, for having been pleaſed to Order us to be an Example to all his other Kingdoms, ſo as not to gain only the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes*, who were Natives among us, but alſo the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes* of other parts, and that it will be Recorded in the Hiſtory of *Valentia*, that it was the firſt, which for its Holy Zeal deſerved to have their Kingdom freed from Hereticks, and which by a ſignal demonſtration has given a teſtimony of its innate Fidelity, in having obeyed with great chearfulneſs, what its King and Lord has Ordained and Commanded: In all which the Duke of *Lerma* has bore a great part, out of the ſingular Love wherewith his Excelleny attends to the Affairs of this Kingdom, and of all that live therein.

Brethren, I am not able to expreſs how great a comfort it is to me, to ſee, and hear how this has been entertained by all in general, and particularly, by all thoſe that

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are interested therein, who, notwithstand-they must, as we all know, sustain great damage thereby, have nevertheless, both by word and deed yielded great conformity to it, saying, that since this Expusion will be so much for the Service of God, and his Majesty, they did not only reckon their Goods to be well lost, but did furher offer their own and and their Sons Lives therein; a Resolution worthy of most true Christians, and of most Faithful Subjects: Methinks I have seen that which the Apostle, St. *Paul*, writing to the *Hebrews*, prised so much, *Ye have taken*, saith he, *chearfully the spoiling of your Goods*, he commends them for two things, and which do both deserve great Praise: the first is the suffering the loss of their Goods, which is a great work, but it is yet greater to take it with chearfulness, which is not only good, but an heroical work, and the work of an Apostle; to see ones self Rich to day and Poor to morrow, and to take that with patience and chearfulness for the Service of God and the King is a mighty work, and which deserves to be acknowledged and rewarded, we need not weary our selves to prove this, that Example the Holy Spirit has given us, and which is related by three Evangelists, St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke* will do it abundantly:

ly: St. *Peter*, with the freedom of a *Privado*, and *Favourite*, and as ſuperior to the reſt of the Apoſtles, ſaid unto our Lord Chriſt, *Maſter, behold we have left all that we had, and followed thee*, how will you pay us for what we have done for you? the Lord anſwer'd thoſe that had followed him, and ſaid, that he would do them great Honour, that they ſhould ſit with him to Judge Men: and not forgetting others who had, or ſhould at any time leave their Goods for his ſake, he ſaith to all ſuch, *they that have left Houſe*, &c. all the three Evangeliſts do put *Houſe* in the firſt place, and the *Greek* word here, as alſo the *Hebrew*, in *Pſal.* 123. ſignifies not only a material Houſe, but a Family likewiſe, and all things belonging to its ſupport; as health, honour, and goods, and all things elſe, ſo that to leave the ſupport of a Family is an heroical work, and which deſerves a great reward, this the Nobility of *Valentia* has done, ſome loſing Vaſſals, and the advantages they had by them, others loſing their Rents, and all this with chearfulneſs, as thorow the Mercy of God we ſee, and for which I do return infinite thanks, and do hold my ſelf unworthy to have ſuch Sheep; and whereas they have done this their part, they ſhall alſo partake of the Promiſe which our Lord Chriſt made to thoſe that have left

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their Goods for the sake of the Gospel, as St. *Matthew* has it, or, who have left their Goods for the Kingdom of Heaven, as St. *Luke* hath it, None of them shall fail to receive *in this Life* much more than they have lost, *and in the time to come life Eternal* this is what Christ our Lord has promised, who cannot be worse than his word being not only true, *but truth it self*, so that we may rest secure of having this promise fully comply'd with, and that the benefits will be innumerable, which will follow upon this holy and admirable work such as Honour, the greatest Honour that is, being to live in the Company of Believers, and the greatest dishonour and disgrace, is, to have any thing to do with Infidels, who let them be of what Quality soever, tho' a King; cannot be so much as looked upon, without being affronted. So the Prophet *Elijah* told *Joram* a wicked King of *Israel*, *As the Lord liveth, in whose presence I am, that had it not been out of respect to King* Jehoshophat *who is a Believer, and the servant of God, I should not have regarded what you say, nor have seen thy face, because thou art an Infidel.* Neither would the Prophet so much as salute him, because it would have been a fault to have done it, as it is to us to salute the Enemies of God, who are of the number of those that do not confess our Lord Christ to be true God,

which

which *Mahomet* did not, and of whom the holy Apoſtle St. *John* ſaith, *Receive them not into your Houſe, and ſay not Godſpeed to them, for they that ſalute them do in ſome manner partake of their fact.* what greater honour can we have in this Kingdom, than to have all that live therein faithful to God and the King, and without any mixture of Hereticks or Traytors? And of this honour the Temporal Lords will chiefly partake, who hereafter may be ſtiled the Lords of faithful Vaſſals, which they could not be ſtiled before, but the Lords of Infidel Slaves. And as to the common People, what greater Good can they receive, or what that can be compared to their having the moſt holy Sacrament reſerved in the Church of every Village; what Honour, what Authority, what Comfort, what Eaſe, what Joy muſt this yield? This is that which makes Villages tho' never ſo ſmall to be moſt illuſtrious Cities, and Royal Courts, not of the Kings of the Earth but of the King of Heaven, this is the only thing that can be eſteemed Grandeur. And ſo the Royal Prophet *David*, deſiring to extol the Eminency and Majeſty of *Jeruſalem* for its having in it the Houſe of God, which was but the Shadow and Type of our Temples, ſaith *Many admirable and glorious things we are able to ſay of thee the City of God.* The ſame

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and greater beyond comparison can we say of every little Hamlet, where not the Ark of the Testament, and the Urn of *Manna*, but the true and living Body of our Lord abideth.

Ye are all Witnesses, of the incommodity it was to pious People, to go to their Villages where this great Consolation was wanting, which hereafter ye shall enjoy, and be possessed of the greatest Treasure in Heaven, which is the Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ: And ye shall see your Churches which were full of Dragons and wild Beasts, filled with Angels and Seraphims: When this Expulsion is over, I do intend if God spare me life, to visit all the places where the *Moors* lived, and having kissed the Ground of the Churches, to return Thanks to our Lord, for seeing them freed from so great Impurity: as they were defiled with by their treading in them, in conformity whereof I beseech all of you, that have Villages which have been inhabited by *Moriscoes*, or in which they have had any Houses, to make a great Festivity, the greatest you can possibly make on the Day whereon the most Holy Sacrament shall be lodged in your Churches, and to take care to adorn the Holy Altar where it is to be reserved, as much as you can possibly: This Care will be very proper for the Ladies and

other

other pious Women, remembring the *Regalo* which the two Siſters *Martha* and *Mary* made to our Lord Chriſt, when he came to 'em weary with having Preached, and quite tired with the Infidelity of Men. It is the very ſame Lord you will now have in your Churches, and that not mortal and paſſible, but immortal, and impaſſible: *Regale* him therefore as much as you are able, and be ye tenderly affected with the Senſe of the great Mercy he does you in condeſcending to dwell among you, after ſo many and ſo great Blaſphemies and Affronts as have been offered to him in thoſe very places where you now have him; with this Conſideration you will kindle in your hearts, a Devotion for the moſt Holy Sacrament, and hereby acquire innumerable benefits.

I will tell you one thing farther, that ome who are much the Servants of our ord, and are learned too, are of Opinion, hat the Reaſon why our Lord has ordain- d that this holy Expulſion ſhould begin in is Kingdom, was that he might reward e Devotion that is in it for the moſt holy acrament, which is greater here than it is any other part of *Spain*, as is manifeſt om the Feſtivities, Proceſſions, Illuminatis, and Ceremonies which they perform n its admirable Feaſt; honouring it as uch as humane Poverty and weakneſs is

able to honour the eternal Son of God, wh
continues among us, for the remedying
all our Evils spiritual aud corporeal. Ne
ther is it a thing of small Consideration, tha
hereafter we shall all be quiet in our Co
sciences. But I do not care to insist on
Point, on which I have formerly said an
writ a great deal, and could say and writ
much more on it. For if the holy Scrip
tures dictated by the Divine Spirit do com
mand us to abhor the Enemies of God, an
if the Royal Prophet said, *That it threw hi
into a Fever, when he saw those that had tran
gressed the divine Law*, how shall we be abl
to answer for our having treated those He
reticks familiarly, esteeming them as friend
and being in Amity with them, notwith
standing we beheld them performing th
Ceremonies of *Mahomet*, and we our selve
did acknowledge them to be *Mahometan*
tho' they had been baptized. Who amon
us has had the Zeal of *Mathias* of whom th
holy Scripture saith, *That when he beheld on
of the People of Israel offering Sacrifice to Idol
at the Commandment of the perverse King* An
tiochus, *he was so set on fire by the zeal of th
Lord, that his Bones trembled, and flying up
on him that sacrificed, and him that command
ed him to do it, he killed them both:* This i
the zeal of a Servant of God, and which i
so acceptable to the divine Majesty, tha

Phi

Phineas for the doing the ſame was commended of God; and *Moſes* ſaith, that tho he was determined to have inflicted a ſevere puniſhment upon the people, he was appeaſed and did remit his wrath, *for the zeal of Phineas* who killed the Tranſgreſſor of the law of God. My Brethren, we had all need make a general Confeſſion, and I my ſelf ought to do it in the firſt place, who knowing the Blaſphemies of thoſe People, and ſeeing it with my Eyes, have lived forty years in peace with them: And notwithſtanding I might plead the example of other learned Prelates, and who were much the ſervants of our Lord, who have diſſembled and gone on with them, nevertheleſs had I been worthy of the zeal of our Lord, ſuch Examples would not have ſufficed. A general confeſſion of the Barons, and Lords of Vaſſals, likewiſe neceſſary who tho' when I treated with 'em about their obſtinacy and their obſerving their ſect openly, uſed to tell me, that did not belong to 'em, but to the Inquiſition or the Ordinary, to puniſh them for it. Nevertheleſs it is certain, that if they had had zeal for the honour of God they would never have permitted it. A general Confeſſion alſo neceſſary to all that have trafficked and have had any dealings with 'em, for had you had a zeal for the honour of God, and had eſteemed it more than your profit, you

would never have been their Friends, bu would have abhorred 'em, and fled fron 'em. And I beſeech all of you that know an thing of the Language of thoſe curſed Crea tures to forget it.

I have deferred to ſpeak to what con cerns Goods to the laſt, of which I know ſome have complain'd, but with the fore mentioned moderation. It cannot be de ny'd but that at firſt, until things are wel ſettled, the Rents of the Lords of Vaſſals will be leſs than they were, neither will th Rents that were charged on the Villages o the *Moriſcoes* amount to ſo much as they did but how inconſiderable are theſe loſſes which when compared to the benefits tha will reſult from hence, cannot properly be called a damage; ſo they who have ſold Copy-holds, or Leaſes to buy a Man nor, tho' their Rents may be leſſened thereby, are not ſaid by us to have done any prejudice to their Eſtates, but rather to have improved them, as they likewiſe do, who do abate of their Penſions for to have them charged on Eſtates, where they will be more ſecure, this very thing has now happened; ſeeing both the quality of Eſtates, and the Security of recovering the Rents of them, are to be reckoned beyond a greater Rent with a riſque of loſing it. And whoſoever will but truly conſider the emi-

eminent Danger we were in of loſing both our Eſtates and Lives, while thoſe People ived among us, will reckon himſelf happy, nd to be in a better condition, by having what remains ſecured to him. For as wiſe olomon has it, *Better is a little with the fear f the Lord, than to have great treaſures ith ſtrife and fighting.*

Among the Felicities of the Sons of *Iſra-el*, reckoned by the Spirit of God, in the eign of King *Solomon*, one was, *That men ved in ſafety, ſleeping under the ſhade of their n Vine and Figtree, having none to be afraid* : Thus we ſhall be in this Kingdom for e future, where thorow the mercy of God, e Paternal Care of his Majeſty, every ing will thrive with us, and the Earth it lf will grow more fertile, and will yield the uit of Bleſſing. It is a thing ye all know at we have not had one Fertile Year ce the Time that the *Moriſcoes* were Bap-t'd, whereas now they will all be fertile, the nd having been impoveriſhed, made bar-r, and poiſoned by their Blaſphemies and ereſies, or with ſo many *Sins and Abomi-nations*, as the Royal *Prophet David* hath it; n't think, that this is nothing but a Fancy, ce the Divine Scriptures do every where irm, that for Sins, God deprives People o Temporal Bleſſings. Let us but live in t Service of our Lord, and obſerve his

Holy Law without wronging our Neighbour and we shall abound with all Good Things hear what the Lord himself has said, *Obe my Commandments, and keep my Law, and do promise, you shall live in the Land withou fear; and the Land which you possess shall brin forth Fruit in such abundance, that you shall ea and be full;* and that *without* any *fear*, but wit an entire rest and security; and your Har vests shall be so great, that *the Reapers sha work until seed time, and the makers of Win shall meet the Sowers, and ye shall build in pla ces which were Deserts, and plant Vines, an drink of the Wine thereof, and sow Garden and eat of the Fruit of the Trees you hav planted; and ye shall never be turned out of you Houses, saith the Lord.* All this the Lor has promised by his *Prophets*; I say agai We shall abound with all Good Things; fo he who bestows upon us the Heavenly an Eternal Blessings of Grace, will not, sait the Royal Prophet, deny us Tempor and Earthly Blessings; for which Reason th man may be called happy, *who trusteth in th Lord.* Let us do so, and be contented wit what our *Lord* shall be pleased to dispen to us, giving him infinite thanks for th mercy.

And I with my weakness and misery d supplicate him to give me light, that I ma know how to do it, who, tho a great sin

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ner, I will venture to uſe the words ſpoke by a holy Man, to whom I am like in being Old, *O Lord, now let thy Servant depart in Peace according to thy Word*, for now having ſeen my deſires comply'd with, I am contented to die, whenever our Lord ſhall be pleaſed to take me, leaving my Churches free from the impurities wherewith thoſe Hereticks defiled them, and my Flock ſecure from the Treaſons they were machinating, but above all, now that our Lord God will be Adored and Served, and Praiſed for ever.

FINIS.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE Commons OF *CASTILE*,

In the Beginning of the

Reign of *Charles* the Vth.

Compiled chiefly out of Letters written by Eminent Perſons that were ingaged in theſe Wars.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, *LL. D.*
Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

THE PREFACE.

THE Wars of the Commons of Caſtile, *which broke out in the beginning of the Reign of the Emperor* Charles *the* Vth. *tho' they are mentioned in all the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, little more is ſaid of them, than that they begun in ſuch a Year; and that the Commons being at laſt diſperſed, and ſome of their Leaders being put to death, all things were quieted again.*

The ſhortneſs of which Account; conſidering how great a Revolution this was, and how full of uſeful Leſſons both for Princes and Subjects; I can attribute to nothing, but to the known Partiality of the Spaniſh *Hiſtorians for the Honour of their Country; on whoſe ſo much boaſted of Loyalty to their Princes, theſe Wars of the Commons were thought to reflect too much, to be tranſmitted at large by them to Poſterity.*

When

When I have said that this History is chiefly taken out of Letters writ to Ministers of State by Persons of great Note, and who were personally engaged in these Wars, I think I have said enough to recommend it to the Curious; who cannot but know, that the Materials of a True History are no where else to be met with so well; and especially in the Case of Civil Wars: In which, as both sides are commonly something in the wrong, so for that reason the Wisest and Best Men on both Sides are always the fartheſt from a Blind Bigotry for the whole of their several Causes: And which Moderation never discovers it self any where so plainly, as in Letters writ to Publick Ministers by their Confidents: For though Publick Ministers, may, in such Cases, industriously impose False Relations on others, they themselves must not be abused by such Relations.

This is the Case of most of the Letters, out of which the main of this History was Collected; they were written to the Lord Chancellor of Castile, *who was at that time in* Germany *with the Emperor, by his Great Friend and Confident, the Learned* Peter Martyr, *an Eye Witness of these Wars; and who, though he was very active in them for the Emperor, does every where condemn the Evil*

Evil Counſellors by whom the Commons were provoked to take up Arms; much more than he does the Commons, for having taken them up after having been ſo highly provoked to it.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE Commons OF *CASTILE*,

In the Beginning of the

Reign of *Charles* the V^th.

DONNA *Isabella*, the Sovereign Queen of *Castile*, &c. and Wife of *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, having departed this Life on the 26th. of *November*, in the Year 1504; By her Death, the Crown of *Castile*, and of

of all the Dominions thereunto belonging, descended to *Dona Joanna*, her Eldest Daughter then living, and who was Married to *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, Eldest Son of *Maximilian*, the Emperor, and Arch Duke of *Austria*; and who, at that time was in *Flanders* with her Husband, and her Eldest Son, *Charles*.

The Deceased Queen having been sensible of her Daughter *Donna Joanna's* weakness, and much displeased with her Son in Law *Philip*, for having been a very unkind Husband; by her Will, made not long before her Death, she constituted her own Husband, King *Ferdinand*, Governor of *Castile*, during the time of their Grandson, Prince *Charles's* Minority.

But *Philip*, who was a brisk Prince, coming not long after with his Queen into *Spain*, did, with the Assistance of the *Castilian* Nobles, who were extremely weary of *Ferdinand's* Severe Government, oblige his Father-in-Law to leave *Castile*, and go to his own Kingdoms: *Philip*, among other things, being much dissatisfied with his Father-in-Law, for having after he was above sixty years of age, concluded a Marriage with a young Beautiful *French* Princess, whose name was *Germana*, in hopes of having Male-Issue by her, to Succeed him in the Throne of *Arragon*.

But

But *Philip*, who had lived apace, dying a few Months after *Ferdinand* had left *Castile*; his Queen, whose Brain was somewhat Distemper'd before; did, upon this loss, sink into so deep a Melancholy, that those which were about her, had much ado to keep her from Famishing her self: And, as during the whole time of her Husband's Sickness, she had never, tho' she was big with Child, day nor night, stirred from his Bed side: So having, some days after he was Buried been told by a Monk, that he had read in some Legend or other, of a King who came to life again after he had been dead fourteen years, she immediately commanded her Husband's Body to be brought into her Bed-chamber, where, having taken it out of the Coffin, and laid it in a Bed of State, with its Face uncover'd, she kept it there as long as she lived, which was above twice fourteen years; and when she was awake, was continually looking upon it, and watching when it would rise.

And as the Queen's Fondness for her Husband, who had little deserv'd it from her; so her Jealousie of him was so much increas'd by his Death, that she would never suffer any Woman but her self to go near his Corps; nor none of that Sex, besides her old Servants and Confidents to come within the doors of the Room where it lay:

And

And having left *Burgos*, with a Reſolution never to ſee that, nor any other City any more, ſhe travelled in the Night by Torch light, with her Husband's Corps drawn in a Herſe by ſix *Flanders-Mares*, from one obſcure Village to another, until ſhe ſetled at laſt at *Tortelas*; where, in a very mean Houſe, ſhe was delivered of a Daughter, without the help of a Midwife: For as there was no perſuading of her to lie inn, in any other Room but in that where her Husbands Corps was; ſo ſhe would not hear of a Midwife, though never ſo ancient, being brought into it.

The Breath was not well out of *Philip*'s Body, when the Grandees were all to pieces, about the Adminiſtration of the Government, during Prince *Charles*'s Minority: The Nobles who had appear'd moſt forward in driving *Ferdinand* out of *Caſtile*, talked high againſt his being recalled to be their Governor; alledging, that if his Government was grievous to the Nobles before, it would be much more ſo now, after he had been ſo highly provoked, by their having joined with *Philip* againſt him; His being married to the Princeſs *Germana*, in hopes of having Male-Iſſue by her, was likewiſe urged as an unkind thing to the Poſterity of their Queen *Iſabella*; and which, if he were

its Governor, might prove of dangerous consequence to *Castile*.

The Queen, who when she would speak, which was but seldom did alway gives very pertinent Answers; being addressed to, to know to whom she would have the Administration of the Government of her Kingdoms committed, is said to have answer'd, *My first born Son and Heir* Charles *is too young to administer the Government himself, and* Maximilian *my Father-in-law, cannot well leave the Empire, and his own Hereditary Dominions or if he would, he is altogether a Stranger to the Tempers and Customs of my People, which are all perfectly understood by my Father, and who has with great toil and danger much enlarged my Territories:* But when she was desired, after so wise an Extemporary Answer by a Publick Instrument to constitute her Father Governor of *Castile*, during her Son's Minority, not a Word more was to be had from her; neither would she to her Dying Day, ever be perswaded to put her Hand to any Writing, or to give any Reason, why she would not do it; only on other occasions, she would sometimes say, *That it was scandalous for the Widow of a Good Husband to let any thing trouble her Thoughts, but the memory of her great Loss.*

Cardina

Cardinal *Ximenes*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, the wiſeſt and moſt diſintereſted Stateſman, that *Spain*, or perhaps any other Kingdom, ever had, at firſt ſeemed to agree with the Nobles, to exclude *Ferdinand* from the Regency; to which his near Relation to the Prince gave him ſo good a Title; but being ſenſible that no man was ſo fit as *Ferdinand* to govern *Spain* at that time, he ſo managed the Council of State, that he prevailed with them to ſend to *Ferdinand*, who was then at *Naples*, to deſire him to come and take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government, during the time of his Daughter's Indiſpoſition, and of his Grandſon's Minority: And though the Queen would not be perſuaded to give any countenance to his coming, by writing a Line to invite him; yet having been deſir'd by his Ambaſſador at her Court, to order Publick Prayers and Supplications to be made in all the Churches, for his ſafe Arrival in *Caſtile*, ſhe made Anſwer, *It ſhould be done*; and added, *that ſhe doubted not but that God would both give her Father a Proſperous Voyage; and would bleſs him in the Adminiſtration of the Government of her Kingdoms.*

Ferdinand being arrived in *Caſtile*, went directly to viſit his diſconſolate Daughter; and though the place he found her in, was extremely incommodious, both for her ſelf,

and the Court, he had much adoe to perſuade her to leave it, to go to *Santa Maria de Campo*, from whence he intended to have moved her to *Burgos*, and to have fix'd her there, ſo ſoon as the Caſtle of that City (which was held out againſt him, by one *Emanuel*, the great Favourite of King *Philip*) was reduced: But the Queen, when ſhe came to *Arcos*, ſuſpecting that her Father intended to carry her to *Burgos*, ſhe would not go a ſtep further; telling him, *That ſhe was reſolved never to ſee the Place any more, wherein ſhe had been ſo unhappy as to loſe the Beſt of Husbands:* And though *Arcos* was a Town of bad Air, and very inconvenient for the Court, it was five Months before he could perſuade her to leave it, to go to *Tordeſillas*, a pleaſant Village, and wherein ſhe had a Palace in the Neighbourhood of *Valedolid*; but having at laſt prevailed with her to remove, ſhe travelled all the way by Night, with her Herſe; ſtopping ſtill at the firſt Houſe ſhe met with, though it was a Cottage, after the Day began to dawn, and remained there till it was dark Night; and when ſhe was deſired by her Father who accompanied her, not to feed her Melancholy by travelling after ſuch a diſmal manner; all the Anſwer he could have, was, *That the Sun ought never to ſee a Woman after ſhe was ſo unfortunate as to be a Widow.*

It was happy for *Spain*, that it had *Ferdinand* for its Governor at this time; for beſides that, during his 9 Years Regency of *Caſtile*, he kept it in perfect peace at home; in that time he obtained for it, of the *Pope*, the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Navar*; thorough which conſiderable Acceſſion, and the immenſe Treaſures of Gold, Plate and Jewels, which were yearly imported from the *Indies*, *Spain* was never in ſo rich and flouriſhing a Condition, as it was in, at the time of *Ferdinand*'s Death; who died at *Madrugall*, on the 23d of *January*, 1516: and by his Death, he having had no Children by his young Queen *Germana*, the Crown of *Arragon* deſcended to his Daughter, the Queen of *Caſtile*. *Spain*, after *Ferdinand*'s Death, was wiſely governed by Cardinal *Ximenes*, until Prince *Charles* who was juſt then of Age,, arrived; which was not till 18 Months after his Grandfather's Deceaſe: This Delay was looked on by the *Spaniards* as a Trick of the *Flemings* to draw Money out of *Caſtile*; but whether that was ſo or not, it is certain that *Flanders* has been ever ſince, drawing ſuch ſums of Money from hence, that it had been happy for *Spain*, never to have had any thing to do with it.

Never was any Prince more welcome to a People, than *Charles* was to the *Spaniards* when he first came among them; the great Character had been given of him by all that came from *Flanders*, having made the *Spaniards* expect him with great impatience, who promis'd themselves all manner of happiness under the government of so hopeful a Prince: but *Charles* had not been a Year among them, before he had lost their Hearts to a degree, none of his Ancestors had ever done before, thorow his being absolutely govern'd by his *Flemish* and *French* Ministers; and above all, by the *French* Lord, *Philip Crovi de Chevers*, who had been his Governor, and who, though otherwise a very great man, was insatiably covetous.

The first thing *Charles* did after he Landed, was the Discharging of his Brother *Ferdinand*'s Governor, and Præceptor, and all his other *Spanish* Servants, and placing *French*, and *Flemings* in their room; which change, as it was heinously taken by the Infante himself, so it was highly resented by the *Spaniards*; to whom *Ferdinand*, who had been bred among them, was very dear; as an Affront put upon their Nation: This Order was executed by Cardinal *Ximenes* a few days before he died; by whose Death the Archbishopricick of *Toledo*, which

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next to the Papacy, is the Richeſt Dignity in the *Roman* Church, being commonly reckoned to be worth fourſcore thouſand *Engliſh* pounds *per* year; having become vacant, it was begg'd by *Chevers*, and who obtain'd a promiſe of it from the Prince, for his Nephew, *William de Croy*, and who, tho' he was then Biſhop of *Cambray*, was but a very young man: by which ſtrange promotion, and made ſo ſoon after the Prince came among them, the *Spaniards* plainly perceived, how great, both the Power, and Impudence of the Northern Miniſters were, in having dared, ſo ſoon, to lay their hands on the higheſt, and richeſt Dignity of the Kingdom.

The Prince, and his Siſter *Donna Leonora*, whom he had brought with him from *Flanders*, made no ſtay any where until they came to *Tordeſillas*, where their Mother was, and where ſhe had been above ten years, without having once ſtirred out of the Room where her Husband's Corps lay: She is ſaid to have receivd her Son and Daughter with great tenderneſs, and to have entertained them with ſome Diſcourſe: Whilſt the Prince was with his Mother at *Tordeſillas*, his Natural Uncle, the Archbiſhop of *Saragoca*, and who, had the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, became vacant, during the time of his Father *Ferdinand's* Government,

was to have had it, came to wait upon him to Congratulate his safe arrival in *Spain* But the Prince suspecting that his busines was to beg the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, h commanded him, without having seen him to leave *Tordesillas*, and to go to *Valedolia* and to wait there for him; fearing, it i like, that if he had remained any time a *Tordesillas*, he might have found some op portunity to have spoke with the Queen and to have begg'd it of her; the Arch bishop, who was a Man of a great Spiri so resented this unkind Entertainment, tha having left *Tordesillas* in a Rage, he wen directly to *Arragon*, of which Kingdom h had been Viceroy some years before, an ever since his Father's death.

A *Cortes*, or *Parliament* having met a *Valedolid*, on the *5th* of *February*, 151 The first thing proposed to it, was, wh ther considering the Queen's Indisposition the Administration of the Goverment shou not be committed to her Eldest Son, Princ *Charles*; but tho' this was presently, an unanimously agreed to, the second thin proposed, which was, whether during h Mother's Life, he should have the Title King, or only that of Prince Regent, bo a long debate; however, it was conclude at last, that he should presently have th Title of King, but so that all Publick Ac

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ſhould run in both their Names; the uſual Oaths of Governing, according to Law, and of not Infringing or violating any of the Liberties, or Priviledges of the Subjects, having been taken by the King, the *Cortes* was moved to give Money to defray the Charges of the Government, which were repreſented to be very great at that time: But the Commons, before, they would part with any Money, inſiſtedon having two old Laws revived; *the one was, that none but Natives of* Caſtile *ſhould be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church State*; and the Second was, *That it ſhould be Death to ſend Money out of the Kingdom*; but the Northern Miniſters, at whom theſe two Proviſions were levelled, by the aſſiſtance of the Biſhop of *Badaiox*, who had been the King's *Spaniſh* Præceptor in *Flanders* and of *Garcia Padilla*, Commendator of *Calatrava*, ſo managed the *Cortes*, as to prevail with the Majority, both to drop thoſe Proviſions, and to grant the Sum that had been demanded, and which is ſaid to have been the greateſt that was ever given by any *Cortes*: And tho' this great Donative, for ſo all the Money that is given by a *Cortes* is called by the *Caſtilians*, was not to have been paid in leſs than three years; it was, with the deduction of an high Intereſt, advanced immediately by the *Itali-*

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an Bankers of *Valedolid*, and, as was uni
verſally Reported, was, as ſoon as it wa
Received, Diſtributed by the King, amon
his Northern Miniſters, and by them ſen
into *Flanders* in Specie. Several of the grea
Cities, but above all, that of *Toledo*, bein
very angry with the *Cortes*, for having give
the King ſo great a Sum of Money befor
he had conſented to the reviving of the tw
foremention'd Laws, did, aſſoon as th
Cortes was diſſolved, ſend Commiſſioner
to Court, to Remonſtrate againſt Stranger
being preferred, and ſuffered to ſend Mo
ney out of the Kingdom, offering to prove
that in leſs than a year, eleven hundre
thouſand Ducats, had been ſent by the Nor
thern Miniſters out of *Caſtile*, into *Flanders*
but the young King having been poſſeſs'
by thoſe Miniſters, that the *Spaniards* wer
a People not to be Governed, but with
Rod of Iron, he turned a deaf ear to al
ſuch Remonſtrances, diſmiſſing the City
Commiſſioners with Threats, as perſon
diſaffected to his Government.

Emanuel, King of *Portugal* having at thi
time, by his Embaſſador deſired *Donna Leo
nora*, the King's Siſter, for his Wife, thi
Propoſition was had in deteſtation by all the
Caſtilians; for beſides that, *Emanuel* hac
been married to two of her Aunts, and hac
Children by them both; he was old enough

to

to be her Grandfather: But notwithſtanding all the World cried ſhame at ſacrificing ſo young and beautiful a Princeſs to *Chever's* Covetouſneſs, who was known to have received one and twenty thouſand Ducats, by order of the *Portugal* Ambaſſador from a Banker of *Valedolid:* The Match was concluded, and the *Infante* ſent to *Portugal*, attended by *Chever's* Lady, who had been her Governeſs, and who was ſaid to have received a great Reward there, for having perſuaded that Princeſs to ſo unequal a Match.

Chever's obſerving the Diſcontents of the *Caſtilians* againſt the Government to run very high, perſuaded the King to ſend his Brother *Ferdinand* to *Flanders*, and to appoint Mr. *Buere*, a *Flemiſh* Nobleman to attend him, in quality of his Governor: The thing that helped *Buere* to this Remote Employment, was, his having called *Chever's a Traytor to his Face, for having ever ſince he came into* Spain, *ſacrificed all the King's Intereſts to his own and his Lady's Inſatiable Avarice.*

The King having thus diſpoſed of his Brother, and Eldeſt Siſter, he had his Poſthumous Siſter, *Donna Catherina*, ſtole from her Mother, with whom, ever ſince ſhe was born, ſhe had been mewed up in a dark Room; but the Queen, when ſhe came to

miſs

miss her Daughter, was so discomposed, that she vowed never to eat or drink till her Child was restor'd to her again; which at the end of two Days, the King was forc'd to do, his Mother, having during that time, neither eat, drunk, or slept.

The Cardinals Hat the King had obtained of the *Pope* for *Adrian* a *Dutchman*, who had been his Præceptor, and to whom *Tortosa*, one of the Richest Bishopricks in *Spain* had been given, having been brought to *Valedolid*; the King and the whole Court were present at the Solemnity of *Adrian*'s receiving it: And though *Adrian* was, and deservedly, the best beloved by the *Spaniards* of all the *Northern* Ministers, yet the *Clergy* reckoning that this Hat, was, at *Rome*, placed to the *Spanish* account, they were extremely incensed to see all their highest Ecclesiastical Dignities thus conferr'd on Strangers: For such they reckoned the *Flemings* to be, though the King's natural born Subjects.

It was not long before the Clergy let the King know how much they resented his having bestow'd the richest and highest Ecclesiastical Dignities on Foreigners: Who having been assembled presently after by the Cardinal *Adrian*, to settle the Payment of the *Tenths* of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices

and

and Promotions in *Caſtile*, which had been given to the King by the *Pope*: The Clergy by their Prolocutor told the Cardinal plainly, That as they were not oblig'd to pay thoſe Tenths, but when *Spain* was actually invaded by *Infidels*; ſo ſince that could not be pretended now, they were reſolv'd not to pay them: Neither did they, tho much urged to it by the Cardinal, and by ſeveral Great Lawyers ſent to them by the King, who endeavour'd to ſatisfie them of their being bound to pay thoſe Tenths, having been granted to the King by the *Pope*, who was Lord of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and to carry on a War againſt the *Turks*, who were by Sea, as well as by Land growing formidable to all *Chriſtendom*.

The King being ſetled in the Throne of *Caſtile*, went next to *Saragoca*, the Metropolis of *Arragon*; where having aſſembled a *Cortes*, that Aſſembly was according to Cuſtom, opened by a Speech made to them, by an Officer, call'd, *The Pronotary of the Kingdom:* Wherein he deſired the *Cortes*, *To take into their conſideration the ſtate of the Kingdom, and how the Government was to be adminiſtred, now their Queen was ſo much indiſpoſed.* The diſcontented Archbiſhop of *Saragoca* made anſwer, *That as the* Arragoneſes *had always been faithful to their Princes, ſo they would now take time to conſider of what*

was

was fit to be done by them in their present Circumstances: But though he did all that he was able, to have obstructed the King's Business, the Government was setled in the same manner as it was in *Castile*, and the King took the usual Oath of maintaining to the *Arragoneses* all their Liberties and Immunities, which at this time were the greatest that were enjoyed by any People under a Monarchy. After this, the *Cortes* being moved to supply the King with Money, and to do it with expedition; they made answer, *That it was not their Custom to give Money before the Grievances of the Kingdom were all redressed; and the Debts owing from the Crown to the Subjects stated in order to be paid.* Upon which two Heads the *Cortes* spent so much time, that the King having received Advice of the Death of his Grandfather *Maximilian*, he sent a Message to them, to let them know, That if they did not quickly dispatch the Affairs they had in hand, he shou'd be forc'd to leave them undone, being in a great haste to go to *Germany*, to secure the Imperial Crown to himself, and to his Family, in which it had been so long; and that the more, because the *French* King pretended to it; and who, if he should gain it, would be a much more dangerous Neighbour to *Spain*, than before. Upon which Message, though the Donative, which had been

been demanded, was granted, ſo much of it was appropriated to the Payment of Crown debts, and other publick uſes, that but little remained for the King to diſpoſe of.

From *Saragoca* where he had met with much trouble, and but little Money, the King went to *Barcelona*, the Metropolis of *Catalonia*, where he met with leſs Money and more trouble; having been detained there nine Months before the *Cortes* of that Principality had ſettled him in the Government; and had given the Donative which he had demanded; and when they had given it, they appropriated it ſo to the payment of publick Debts, that when they were all diſcharged, there remained but five and twenty pounds for the King's own uſe, who had ſpent near a Million of *Caſtilian* Ducats which are more than *Catalonian* Pounds among them: And whereas ſeveral of thoſe Debts were of a very long ſtanding, the *Catalonians* being ask'd by the Miniſters what they meant by reviving ſuch old Debts, made Anſwer, that perceiving how the *Flemiſh* and *French* Miniſters, by whom the King was governed, were come into *Spain* as into an Enemy's Country, intending after they had plunder'd it, of all they could lay their hands on, to return with its Spoils to *Flanders*; they judged it

was

was time to see those publick Debts discharged, which out of Affection to their former Princes who had lived among them and had been as Fathers to them, they had let sleep so long: The *Catalonians* and all the rest of the *Spaniards* complained likewise very much of all Offices being sold by *Chevers* and his Lady, which they said was a practice had never been heard of before in *Spain*.

Whilst the King was detained at *Barcelona*, he received the News of his being chose Emperor, and was desired by the Envoys sent to him by the Imperial Diet, to make haste to come to them: The *Spaniards* were so far from rejoicing at this News, that they said, it was one of the worst things that could have befallen *Spain*, which by this means would become as a Province to *Germany*, where their King would reside for the most part, to the draining of *Spain* of all its Treasure, to support an high, empty foreign Title: But the young King who had other Thoughts of it, was in such haste to go to *Germany*, that he put off his Journey to *Valentia*, whither he was to have gone next, sending the Cardinal *Adrian* thither to acquaint them with the Reason why he did not come to them as he had designed; and to desire them after the Example of *Castile* and *Aragon*, to settle him in the Throne.

But

But when the Cardinal came with this Commission, to *Valentia*, he found that City turned upside down; the Citizens having a few days before, turned all the Nobles, save one, who they said was an honest Man, out of the City; and committed the Government of it to the 96 Syndicks or Wardens of the 48 Companies of Tradesmen, to whom the Cardinal having addressed himself, and acquainted them with his Business; they told him, That *the Constitution of their Government was such, as did not permit them to own the Prince to be their King, before he was declared to be so by a Cortes, and had taken an Oath to govern them according to Law*: And when they were told by the Cardinal, that the King had taken that Oath at *Barcelona*, in the presence of their Commissioners; they reply'd, *That would not do, and that they would send Commissionors to the Prince to let him know so much, and to acquaint him with their Reasons why they had turned the Nobles out of their City, whose Tyranny, they said, was grown unsupportable to Men that were free born*: And accordingly they dispatched a substantial Shoemaker, and Carpenter to the King; and who having waited on him at *Saragoca* as he was returning to *Castile* for a fresh Supply of Money, were well received by him, and dismissed with a Promise, that so soon

as he returned from *Germany*, he would come and hold a Cortes among them, and make such Laws as should secure them from being tyrannized over by the Nobles. And in the mean while he ordered the Vice-chancellor of *Aragon*, and one *Garcias* an eminent Lawyer to go to *Valentia*, and examine the matters in difference, betwixt the Nobles, and the Commons, and to make a true Report of them to those he should name, to determine them.

The King being in great want of Money when he returned to *Valedolid*, called a new Cortes; and to make the *Castilians* sensible of his being highly displeased with them; he appointed that Cortes to meet at the *Groin*, a Sea-port Town in the Province of *Galicia*, and where as soon as he was supply'd with Money, he designed to embark for *Flanders*, and upon the *Castilians* having remonstrated against the assembling of their Cortes in a remote Province, that had not so much as one Vote in it, as the most unreasonable thing that had ever been done by any Prince. The King threatned that if they did not behave themselves more dutifully, and send such Procurators to the Cortes he had called, as should grant him, as much Money as he had occasion for, That he would remove all the Courts of Judicature out of *Castile*, into that loyal Province;

vince; by which ſtrange Acts and Threatnings, the *Caſtilians*, out of whoſe Purſes, the Money given by that Cortes was to come; were ſo incenſed, that they every where ſaid openly, *That they were treated by their Flemiſh King, and his Countreymen, more like Slaves, than like free born Subjects; the commanding a* Caſtilian *Cortes to meet in* Galicia, *and the demanding of a new Donative, before the time was expired, wherein the former was to have been paid; and the commanding all Cities and Towns to ſend ſuch Procurators to that remote Cortes as ſhould grant all the Money that ſhould be demanded of them; and threatning them if they did not, to remove all Courts of Judicature out of the Kingdom; they ſaid was a Language no* Caſtilian *King had ever ſpoke to their Subjects in before; and as indeed to rule them with a Rod of Iron, which one of his northern Miniſters had been bard to ſay, was the only way to govern* Spaards;

The Citizens of *Valedolid*, who ſo long they had the Queen in their neighbourhood, expected to have both the Court, and e Cortes, when it met, ſtill in their City, ere ſo enraged, by theſe ſtrange doings, id ſeveral Stories that were grafted upon em by diſcontented Spirits, that they ok up Arms; reſolving not to ſuffer the ng to go without their Gates, before he

had changed both his Measures and his Counsellors: But the King not being willing to change either the one or the other, taking the advantage of a Tempestuous Night, when the Streets and Gates were thin guarded, he got out of Town; and having made his Mother a short visit at *Tordesillas*, he rode post to *Compostella*, where he thundred out a Proclamation against the City of *Valedolid*, *Declaring that City, for the Violence they had offer'd to his Royal Person, to have forfeited its Charter, and all its Priviledges; and commanding all its Markets and Fairs to be kept in other places.* From *Compostella*, having paid his Devotions to the Body of *St. James* the *Apostle*, the Patron of *Spain*, he went to the *Groin*, where he was waited upon by *Don Peter de Lasso a vega*, and *Don Alonso Sylva*, who were sent by the City of *Toledo*, to protest against the Assembly called by the King at the *Groin*, as no Lawful *Cortes*: As also to let the King know that his having nominated a Stranger to be their Primate, was against the Laws he had taken an Oath to observe: This Message was delivered with that Freedom and Courage, that the King commanded *Lasso upon his Allegiance to repair immediately to the Castle of* Gibraltar, whereof he was Governor and *Sylva*, *To go to* Naples, *and look after his Regiment that was there*: And the *Conde de Palma*

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Palma, Governor of *Toledo*, who had come along with thoſe Commiſſioners to acquaint the King with the Turbulent Eſtate of that City, had his Commiſſion taken from him, for not having curbed the Inſolency of that proud place; which the King ſaid, *Should be taught better Manners than to fly in his Face if they had not their wills in all things.* *Don Peter de Giron*, a Brisk young Nobleman waited on the King at the ſame time, to deſire to have Juſtice done him againſt the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, his Kinſman, who by force kept from him a great part of his Eſtate; to which Petition the King having returned a rough anſwer; *Giron* clapt his hand on the hilt of his Sword, and ſwore, that if the King would not, *that ſhould do him Juſtice*; and the King having bid him do, and do his worſt; he reply'd, he knew what *he had to do*, and ſo withdrew.

The *Cortes* being Aſſembled, the *Galicians*, who have no Voice in that Aſſembly, judging this to be a very proper time to obtain the Priviledge of having Procurators in it; the Archbiſhop of *Compoſtella*, and divers *Galician* Nobles, went in a Body to the Convent, where the Houſe of Commons Sat; and finding the Doors ſhut, they ſent in word, that they deſired to be admitted, having ſomething of great mo-

ment to that Body, to communicate to it; but the Commons knowing their Business, would not suffer their Doors to be open'd to them, whereupon the Archbishop and the Nobles made a Protestation in the open Street against all that should be done in that or in any other *Cortes*, wherein the Province of *Galicia* had not Procurators of their own to represent them: The Commissioners of *Toledo*, who had not gone to their Posts the King had commanded them to repair to, made a Protestation likewise against all that should be done in that Assembly; to which, their City, not looking upon it as a Lawful *Cortes*, had sent no Procurators; and the Procurators of *Salamanca*, having protested against the giving of a new Donative before the Time was expired for the payment of the former, were expelled the House for adhering to that Protestation: And though great numbers of the Procurators, and of the chief Cities, did violently oppose the giving of any Money the Sum that had been demanded was granted by a Majority; and who were said to have been hired by Bribes and by Promises of Offices made to them by the Bishop of *Badaiox* and the Commendador of *Calatrava*; who for such Practices, were every where called

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Flemiſh Tools, as the Nobles for looking on, and complying with ſuch things, were call'd *Chever's Journeymen*, and *who, ſo they could but have a ſhare of its Spoils, did not care how much their Country was Plunder'd* by Forigners.

The Cities and Towns of *Caſtile* having been in a great Ferment before, were ſo inraged when they heard of the *Cortes* having given a new Donative, and of the Methods it had been procured by; that it was viſible to every body, that if a ſpeedy and effectual courſe were not taken to prevent it, there would be a General Revolt of all the Commons of the Kingdom, as there was already of the Commons of *Valentia*, who had now chaſed away their Viceroy, for having attempted to recall the Expelled Nobles; and the Citizens of *Toledo* having taken up Arms, when they heard how their Commiſſioners and Governor had been treated at the *Groin*, and how they themſelves had been threatned for the Remonſtrances they had made againſt the King's Illegal, and Arbitrary Proceedings; it was generally believed, the great Comuſtion *Spain* was in, would have obliged the King to put off his Voyage, and to have return'd to *Caſtile*, to do ſomething that might quiet the minds of the Commons; but the Northern Miniſters being afraid to go back themſelves, they perſwaded the King to

proceed in his intended Voyage; and without giving the *Spaniards* so much as a promise of ever making any change of those Measures, whereby he had rendred himself and his Goverment so odious among them; and accordingly, on the 22*d* of *May*, 1520, He Embarqu'd at the *Groin*, leaving the Cardinal *Adrian* sole Governor of *Castile*, but with so limited an Authority, that that honest Man was said to have no Power, but only to dispose of small Ecclesiastical Preferments as they fell; and who, when any thing that was considerable was desired of him, did use to tell the Petitioners, *that if they would have it, they must go to the King in* Flanders *for it*, which the *Spaniards* said, *was to send them to* Chevers *to buy it of him.*

When the Commissioners of *Toledo* returned home from the *Groin*, they were met, and Conducted to their Houses by the whole City with loud Acclamations of their being *True* Castilians, and, *who, for their Courage and Zeal for their Country, deserv'd to have Statues Erected for them, in every City and Town in the Kingdom*; and the Citizens who were all in Arms before, were now Form'd into Regiments; The Chief Command of the Soldiery being committed to *Don John de Padilla*, a Nobleman of great Courage, but very young, and of no Experience, and who was perswaded by his

his Lady *Donna Maria Pacheica*, Daughter to the Marqueſs *de Mondeiar*, a Woman of rare Wit, Beauty, and Courage, to accept of that Employment.

The City of *Toledo* having thus put their Militia in Order, ſent Letters to all the other Cities, and great Towns of *Caſtile*, to inform them of the cauſes of their having taken up Arms, and to exhort them to aſſociate together, in the defence of their Common Liberties, which were ſo Inſolently Invaded and trampled upon by Foreigners; and neither to pay the Donative Granted by that Illegal Aſſembly at the *Groin*, nor the Exciſes called *Alcavalas*, which having been given by a *Cortes*, above an hundred years before, only for eight years, were ſtill kept up, and were contrary to Law, required as a ſtanding Tribute.

Moſt of the Cities and great Towns of *Caſtile*, having, after the Example, and at the Inſtance of *Toledo*, taken up Arms; They did all enter into an Aſſociation, obliging themſelves by an Oath to ſtand by one another, and never to lay down their Arms until their Laws and Liberties were ſecured to them and their Poſterity, and until all that have invaded them, and had betray'd their Country were brought to Condign Puniſhment, to terrify others from ever making any more ſuch Attempts.

But

But as none had rendr'd themſelves ſo univerſally Odious as they, who in the *Gallego Cortes* had given their Voices for a new Donative; ſo the People having been furniſhed with a Liſt of all their Names, they murthered 'em wherever they met with 'em; and in all places, did either burn or pull down their Houſes. So the People of *Segovia*, underſtanding that *Tordeſillas*, who had bin one of their Procurators in that *Cortes*, and had Voted for a Donative, was returned home, they went to his Houſe, and having met with him, they asked him what news he had brought from the *Groin*: *Tordeſillas*, who was a haughty Man, having anſwered, *That he had ſomething elſe to do, than to give an Account of what was done in a* Cortes *to a Rabble*: they immediately laid hands on him, and after having dragged him by the heels through all the Streets of the City, they hang'd him upon the Common Gibbet, and that with ſo great a Rage, that they would not ſuffer a Fryer, who begg'd it of them upon his Knees, to Confeſs, and Abſolve him; crying out, *that none but the Hangman could Abſolve Rogues, that had Betrayed their Countrey*; and a grave Man that was ſtanding by, was hanged up with him, only for having muttered, *That this was both Impious and Barbarous*, as was alſo a publick Notary, who was found

in

in a corner, writing down the names of the Ring-leaders of that Tumult.

At *Burgos* likewiſe, the People pulled down the Houſes, and burnt all the Furniture of two of their Procurators, whoſe Names were *Mota*, and *Jefferys*, for having Voted a Donative: and *Jefferys*, who came to *Burgos* not long after, in Company with the *French* Embaſſador, having threatned, as he was going out of the Gates with the ſame Miniſter to *Tordeſillas*, that when he returned to *Burgos*, *He would have his Houſe rebuilt with the Skulls and Bones of the Raſcals who had pulled it down*: He was purſued until he was forc'd to take Sanctuary in a Church two Miles out of Town; and notwithſtanding all that the *French* Ambaſſador could plead in his behalf, as being of his Retinue, and the Prieſts could ſay to them againſt violating the Sanctuary of their Church, they drag'd him from the High Altar, crying out, *That a Rogue that had betray'd his Country, ought not to have the Benefit of any of its Sanctuaries*: And having carried him back to *Burgos*, beating him all the way moſt unmercifully, they hang'd him upon the Common Gibbet, bidding him, *Go and build his Houſe with their Skulls*.

At

At *Zamora* the people were kept from pulling down the Houses of their Procurators, who had made their escape, by their Bishop *Don Antony d' Acuna*, a Prelate of great Knowledge and Courage, and who in this War was one of the Commons Chief Captains, as well as Counsellers; he had been Dean of the Chappel to Queen *Isabella*, and was in her Favour so much, that had *Toledo* become vacant in her latter Years, it was generally believ'd she would have conferr'd that Archbishoprick upon him: And though this Bishop and the Prior of *Complutum*, were the only great Prelates that declared themselves openly to be on the side of the Commons, most of the rest were, in the beginning of these Troubles well-wishers to them; that single Act of the Kings, having made a Foreigner, and who was very young too, Archbishop of *Toledo*, having contributed more to this Civil War, than all the other Male-Administrations put together: And so zealous were most of the Priests and Fryers for the Commons, that they canonized their Cause, Christning their Supreme Council, *The Santa Junta*. And though few of the Nobles did ever join with the Commons, yet they were all so far well-wishers to the main of their Cause, that none of them Acted vigorously against them, until they were forc'd out of that Neutrality, by the Com-

mons

mons threatning the Nobles, if they did not join with them, with a Reſumption of all the Crown Lands.

The Aſſociated Cities and Towns having all agreed to lodge the Supreme government and direction of all Publick Affairs, in an Aſſembly made up of the ſame Members with a *Cortes*; and having appointed the City of *Abula* to be the place where that Aſſembly was to meet and ſit: Procurators were accordingly choſe by all the Aſſociated Corporations, and were ſent to *Abula* in the ſame Numbers, but with much larger Powers than they uſed to be ſent to a *Cortes*. The Cardinal Governor, dreading the Ill Effects of ſuch a great Aſſembly, did all that was in his power to have diverted the Commons from calling it, having offer'd them if they would not do it, both a Pardon for all that was paſt, and a redreſs of all their true Grievances; of which he affirm'd, That the greateſt Patriot in *Caſtile*, was neither more ſenſible, nor more deſirous to have 'em all remedy'd than he was: And when the *Junta* was aſſembled, he diſpatched Commiſſioners to them with the ſame Propoſitions, offering if they would lay down their Arms, to procure for them all that they had deſired when they firſt took them up.

But

But the *Junta*, which from its birth is said to have design'd to carry things much farther than the Commons had looked when they first revolted, sent the Cardinal word, *That though they had a very great honour for his person, and did not in the least doubt of his being a Friend and well-wisher to the* Castilians *and their Liberties; nevertheless, since their Laws did not allow any that was a Foreigner to be their Governor, they were oblig'd to command and require him, being a Foreigner, not to stile himself, or act any longer as Governor of* Castile: Offering him at the same time, not only their Protection, but their Favour, if he would either come and live among them, or live any where else in *Castile*, as a Private Person: And as to the Pardon he had offer'd, they said, *They were not sensible of their ever having done any thing to make them stand in need of one; and that as they had been forc'd to have recourse to Arms, having no other way left to recover and preserve their oppress'd Laws and Liberties, so whenever they were sufficiently secured to them and their Posterity, they should be ready to lay them down, and after the Example of their Ancestors, in the quiet enjoyment of the same Rights and Priviledges, to continue his Majesty's most obedient and faithful Subjects.* And to satisfie all the World, as well as the Cardinal of the justice of their Arms, the *Junta* set forth a *Manifesto*, containing

taining the Reaſons of their having had recourſe to them, and the Terms whereon they ſhould be ready to lay them down again: In all which, they pretended to deſire nothing that was new, or that was not agreeable to the Laws and Cuſtoms, which the King at his firſt coming to the Crown, had taken an Oath to maintain. The chief things required by the Commons in this *Manifeſto*, were:

That the King ſhall reſide and keep all his Courts in Caſtile; *or if he ſhall at any time have occaſion to be abſent, it ſhall not be lawful for him to appoint any that are not Natives of the Kingdom to be its Governors.*

. *That none but Natives ſhall be capable of any Office or Benefice, either in Church or State.*

I. *That the King ſhall not marry, but with the conſent of his* Cortes.

r. *That no Foreigners ſhall be naturalized.*

That the Procurators ſhall be paid for their attendance on the Cortes, *by the Corporations they ſerve for.*

. *That it ſhall not be lawful for the King to give any Office or Sallery to any of the Procurators of the* Cortes, *or to name their Preſident,*

ſident, nor to ſend Letters that are not ope
to any of the Procurators.

VII. *That a* Cortes *ſhall be aſſembled once i*
three Years at leaſt, and which ſhall ſit an
conſult about the Publick Affairs of th
Kingdom.

VIII. *That there ſhall be no Free Quarters, e*
ther for Soldiers, or for any of the King
Servants, for above Six Days, and that o
ly when Soldiers are upon a March, and t
Court in a Progreſs: After the Expirati
of which Six *Days, the* Chief *Magiſtrates*
the Place where they are, ſhall appoi
how much they ſhall pay for their Qua
ters.

IX. *That the Rewards which have been giv*
or promiſed to any of the Members of t
late Aſſembly at the Groin *ſhall be all rev*
ked.

X. *That the Exciſes ſhall be reduced to t*
ſtate they were in, at the death of Que
Iſabella.

XI. *That all that has been given fr*
the Crown ſince that Queen's Death ſhall
reſumed.

XII. *That all New Officers erected in the Kin*
Houſhold, ſince that Queen's Death, ſhall
diſſolved.

XIII. *That none ſhall hold two Offices in t*
King's Houſhold.

XI

XIV. *That all Priviledges which have been at any time granted to the Nobles to the prejudice of the Commons, shall be revoked.*

XV. *That the Government of Cities and Towns shall not be put into the Hands of any of the Nobles.*

XVI. *That no chief Magistrate of any City or Town shall receive any Sallery from any Nobleman.*

XVII. *That the Lands of the Nobles shall pay to all Publick Taxes, equal with those of the* Commons.

XVIII. *That no Gold, Silver, or Jewels shall upon pain of Death be sent out of the Kingdom.*

XIX. *That it shall not be lawful for the King to give away any Money before it has been paid into the Treasury.*

XX. *That no Corrigidor of any City or Town shall continue in that Office above a Year, unless the People of the Place do petition to have him continued in it.*

XXI. *That the Corrigidors shall be paid their Salleries out of the Treasury, and not out of the Forfeitures of People who have been condemned by them.*

XXII. *That the Goods of Persons accused shall not be given to any, before they are convicted and condemned.*

XXIII. *That whosoever shall presume to execute any Office after they are convicted of having bought it, shall be punished with Death.*

XXIV. *That if any of the King's Officers are convicted of having done any Wrong to the Subject, they shall not only be turned out of their Places for it, but shall be for ever render'd incapable of all Publick Employments.*

XXV. *That none shall be compelled to purchase Papal Indulgences, and that all the Money arising from such Indulgences shall be employ'd against the Infidels, and all Pensions granted upon it shall be revoked.*

XXVI. *That the late* Breve *Subjecting the Ecclesiasticks in several Cases to the King shall be abolished.*

XXVII. *That Prelates who do not reside with their Flocks six Months in a Year, shall lose all their Profits, during the time they are absent.*

XXVIII. *That the* Custom-house *for* Indian *Goods shall never be removed from the place where it is at present.*

XXIX. *That neither Sheep nor Wool shall be suffer'd to go out of the Kingdom.*

XXX. *That the Queen shall be allow'd a Royal Maintenance.*

The

The *Junta*, which was now Ador'd and Obey'd every where almoſt, that they might not ſeem to have laid their *Flemiſh* King aſide, as well as his *Dutch* Governor, by having never, ſince they took up Arms, made any manner of Application to him, they named Commiſſioners to go and wait upon him in *Germany*, and who having laid all their Grievances before him, were ordered to let him know, *That if he would remove, and puniſh thoſe Evil Councellors, who had been the Authors of all the late Male Adminiſtrations, and would call a free* Cortes, *and therein give his Royal Aſſent to all the foremention'd Proviſions, and which being all agreeable to the Laws and Cuſtoms he had taken an Oath to maintain, they ſaid, he could not in Juſtice deny to his Commons, that they would then not only lay down their Arms, which they had, contrary to their Inclinations, been forc'd to have recourſe to, but would become Examples of Fidelity and Obedience to his Perſon and Government, to all his other Subjects.* They were ordered likewiſe to endeavour to ſatisfie the King, That by granting to the Commons all that they deſired, his Crown would be enriched, and his Power and Authority, by leſſening of that of the Nobles, would be much increaſed.

With these Instructions the *Juntas* Commissioners, of whom Father *Paul de Leon*, a zealous *Dominican Fryar*, was the first, pass'd thorough *France* to have waited upon the King in *Germany*; but having, before they were got out of the *French* Territories, received intelligence from some Friends they had in the Court, that there was an Order from the Emperor, *To apprehend and make them all close Prisoners, as soon as they set foot on* German *Ground*; they all returned home, full of Furious Exclamations against the *Northern* Ministers, whom they called *The King's Governors*, inflaming their Countreymen, where ever they came, by assuring them, *That nothing but their Swords could ever open a way for their Grievances to the King's Ear thorough those Brigades of Harpys that were about him.*

This Treatment of their Commissioners was highly resented by the *Junta*, as a thing that had no President in *Castile*, none of their Kings having ever before deny'd the hearing to the Complaints of any private Subject that addressed themselves to them, and much less to the whole Body of the Commons of the Kingdom, waiting upon them with a representation of publick Grievances: and so despairing of ever being able to obtain any Relief from the King, they resolved to apply themselves to the Queen, and if they found

found her in her Senſes, which ſhe was univerſally reported to be in, to perſuade her to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her ſelf, which upon a falſe ſuppoſition of her not being capable of managing it, had by a *Cortes* been raſhly committed to her Son; by whom, and his *Northern* Miniſters, the *Caſtilian* Laws and Liberties had been ſo trampled upon, that the Commons had been forc'd to have recourſe to Arms, to preſerve them from being utterly deſtroy'd.

The Cardinal, who hitherto had uſed no violence with the Commons, being unwilling to begin the ſhedding of Blood in a Military way, when he came to be acquainted with this Deſign of the *Junta's*, he reſolved to hinder its execution by entring upon action; and having been informed that *Segovia* was but weakly fortify'd, and had no ſtrong Gariſon in it, he order'd one *Ronquelos*, an experienc'd Commander, to march with a Body of *Veterane* Troops, and ſurprize that City, which was one of the moſt mutinous in the whole Kingdom; but having to that end ſent to *Medina Campi*, where the King's Stores of War were kept, for ſome Canon and Ammunition, the Inhabitants, who had made themſelves Maſters of all the Magazines, ſent him word, *That they would blow up the Magazines, and themſelves with them,*

sooner than furnish Canon and Ammunition to destroy their Countreymen for standing in defence of their Common Liberties: Which Repulse, though it mortify'd the Cardinal extremely, did not divert him from prosecuting his Design on *Segovia*; toward which, *Ronquelos* marched in great haste; and though he fought and defeated a Body of the Commons much superior to him in number, which had rashly attempted to have stop'd him in his March, he had not well invested that City, when he was glad to draw off his Men, and retreat with great precipitation to *Valedolid*, upon having receiv'd intelligence, that *Padilla* was advancing towards him with an Army to force him to a Battel, for which he was no ways prepared.

The Cardinal's first Hostile Enterprize having thus miscarried; his second was, to recover, if it were possible, the King's Magazines in *Medina*, before the *Junta* had put a Garison into that place, which he reckon'd now he had begun to commit Hostilities upon them, they would do speedily; and accordingly he commanded *Don Antony de Fonseca*, General of all the King's Forces in *Castile*, to draw together all the Troops he could, and whatever it cost him, to make himself Master of those Magazines.

Fonseca

Fonſeca, when he came before *Medina*, having receiv'd the ſame Anſwer to a Summons he had ſent to the Magiſtrates by a Trumpeter, as was given by them before to the Cardinal, he began to thunder upon them with his Canon, and with Granado's, deſigning ſo ſoon as he had made a Breach in their Walls, which were not very ſtrong, to have aſſaulted them; but a Granado, or Canon Bullet happening to fall into the Magazine where all the Powder lay, ſet fire to it, and which blowing up, laid not only the Magazines, but all the Buildings in the Town in Rubbiſh, under which moſt of the Inhabitants, that were not upon the Walls, were ſmothered and buried. *Fonſeca*, upon this dreadful Blow, ſummoned them a ſecond time, for the ſake of the Canon, which were all the Stores that were left unconſum'd, to ſurrender upon diſcretion; which the Inhabitants having refuſed to do, he aſſaulted them on all ſides; but the Defendants being put into a perfect fury by the lamentable deſtruction of their Town, maintained their Walls and Gates ſo well, that *Fonſeca*, after having made ſeveral Attacks, and in which he loſt a great many of his beſt men, was obliged to retreat, leaving the unhappy Inhabitants Maſters of the great Heap of Ruiſh he had made.

The News of the Desolation of *Medina* enraged the whole Kingdom almost to madness; for besides that, it was a large and well built Town, the Merchants Goods which had been lodg'd in the *Franciscan Convent* against the approaching great Fair, and which were all burnt, were valued in three hundred thousand Ducates: The *Junta* so resented this great Loss, that they proclaimed *Fonseca*, *an Incendiary* and *a Publick Enemy* to his *Country*; commanding all people, where ever he came, to treat him as such; and the Cardinal, to throw the Odium of an Action which had put the whole Kingdom into so great a flame, off the King, and himself wholly upon *Fonseca*, did by a Proclamation declare solemnly, That *Fonseca* had no Order from him either to fire Canon upon or to throw any Granado's into *Medina*; and that for having done it, to the utter destruction both of that Town, and of his Majesty's Magazines, he had not only taken his Commission from him, but did further declare him for ever uncapable of any Publick Employment, leaving him to the Vengeance of the Law, for what he had done.

The People of *Valedolid*, who by the Cardinals residing with them, and restoring to them their Charter, and all their former Priviledges, and promising not to require

the new Donative; had till this time been kept from aſſociating with the Commons, did now break looſe, and having taken up Arms, they declared, *that they would look on no longer, to ſee their Countrey deſtroyed, for aſſerting its Rights and juſt Liberties*; and not being ſatisfy'd with what the Cardinal had done to *Fonſeca*, they ſet fire to a noble and richly furniſh'd Houſe he had in their City, lamenting that they had not its Owner to have burnt him in it: From burning of *Fonſeca*'s Houſe, they went to the Houſe of *Don Franciſco Serna*, who had been active for the Court in the late Aſſembly at the *Groin*; which they pulled down, and burnt all its Furniture; as they did alſo the Houſe of one *Portelli*, a rich *Italian* Banker, for having not long before given a Project into the Lords of the Treaſury, how the Revenue of the Exciſes might be advanced.

At *Burgos*, the People had Murder'd their Biſhop, who was Brother to *Fonſeca*, for having drop'd ſome words in *Fonſeca's* Vindication, had he not eſcaped out of Town before his Palace was beſet by them; and tho' they ſpared his Palace, they vented their Fury on all they found in it that belonged to him, bringing all his Goods out, and burning them before his Gates: And at *Medina*, one *Cornelius Nepos* was ſtabb'd by *Badilla*,

Badilla, a shearer of Cloath, only for having said, *That had they let the Cardinal have the Canon he sent for*, Medina *had not been in Ruins*: and one *Vera* a Bookseller was torn in pieces by the People, only for having said, *That he saw no reason why the King shou'd not have had his own Canon when he sent for them*: and upon a Report that *Fonseca*, who did not know where to hide his head, was coming to abscond himself in the Queen's Court in *Tordesillas*, the People told the Marquess of *Denia* the Queen's Keeper, *That if that Incendiary dared to come within their Walls, he should find no Sanctuary among them, no not in the Queen's own Bed-chamber.*

The Cardinal, now that *Valedolid*, where he had all along Resided, had joyned with, and sent Procurators to the *Junta*, apprehending, that that Assembly would now execute their Design of setting up the Queen, offered to them, *that If they would promise to let all things remain in the same state they were then in, until he returned again, to Go in Person to* Germany, *to represent all their Grievances to the King in such a manner; that he did not doubt of prevailing with him to Redress them, and to remove all those Ministers from about him, who had been the Authors of them*: But the *Junta*, which did not doubt of the Cardinal's having all along sol-

ſolicited the King by Letters to do that which he now offer'd to go in Perſon to *Germany* to perſwade him to; deſired the Cardinal to let them ſee the Anſwers he had from time to time received from the Court to the true and free Repreſentations he had made, becauſe, by that they ſhould be better able to judge what would be the Succeſs of his waiting upon the King in Perſon, and upon the Cardinal's deſiring to be excuſed for not making the Anſwers he had received from the Court Publick, the *Junta* concluded thoſe Anſwers to be ſo unſatisfactory, that the Cardinal durſt not publiſh them for fear of making things more deſperate, ſo they thanked the Cardinal for his good will, and told him, that they had reaſon to believe, that his going in Perſon to *Germany* would have no other effect than his true, and honeſt Remonſtrance had had, and that it was a vain thing for him, or them, ever to hope for Redreſs of any of their Grievances, whilſt the King was entirely in the hands of thoſe who had been the Authors of them all, and whom the Commons inſiſted on having removed from Court, and puniſhed.

The *Junta* having thus anſwered the Cardinal, whom they commanded a ſecond time, not to ſtyle himſelf, or to Act any longer as Governor of the Kingdom; they diſpatch'd *Don John de Padilla*, the Darling

ling of the Commons, with a Guard of two hundred Horse, to wait upon the Queen, and to perswade her, if it was possible, to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her self. When *Padilla* arrived at *Tordesillas*, he was received with a wonderful joy by all the People; and having obtained leave from the Marques of *Denia*, to wait upon her Majesty, after he had kissed her hand he acquainted her at large with all the Mal-Administrations, and Tyrannies of her Son and his Northern Ministers, by whom he was absolutely Governed, and who, he said, treated the *Castilians* more like Slaves than like free born Subjects, and did either sell all Offices and Benifices, both in Church and State, or give them to their own Relations; and how the Commons of *Castile* having in vain Petitioned to have those Evil Counsellors removed, and their Insupportable Grievances Redressed, had been forc'd to have recourse to their Arms, to preserve those ancient Laws and Liberties which had been before always peaceably injoyed by their Ancestors, under her Majesty's Royal Progenitors: And at last he conjured her, as she had any love for her Countrey, and the good people of *Castile*, who were so dear to her Blessed Mother, for to come abroad, and take upon her self the

he Government of her Kingdoms, which vould otherwise be absolutely ruined.

The Queen, to whom all that *Padilla* had old her was News, having heard him with reat attention, made answer, *That so long s she lived her good people of* Castile *should not e oppress'd:* But when she was desired by *adilla* to come abroad, and make a publick eclaration of her having taken upon her lf the Government of her Kingdoms, which e said was the only way whereby she could reserve them from being ruined, she would ot speak a word more, though *Padilla* upn his Knees urged her most passionately to romise to make such a Declaration, and to t her loving Subjects see her abroad, which e said, was the thing in the world they de-red the most.

However, upon what the Queen had said, *adilla* reported to the *Junta*, that upon the epresentation he had made to her of the reat Miseries of *Castile*, she had promised, to sume the Government, and to rule them acording to their Ancient Laws and Customs; pon which Report the *Junta* removed from *bula* to *Villabraxim*, a Town in the Neighourhood of *Tordesillas*; from whence, afr a few Days, they went all in a Body to ait upon the Queen, with a Petition to her the Name of all the Commons of *Castile*, come abroad and take upon her self the

Government

Government of her Kingdoms, which would otherwise be ruined: The Queen made Answer, *That so soon as her Health would permit it, she would do all that her good People had desired of her:* But when she was importuned to signifie so much presently by a Proclamation, and to take her own time to go abroad, she intreated the *Junta*, *to have a little patience*, without saying a word more to them.

But though the Queen her self would not do it, the *Junta* upon the Promise she had made them, set forth a Proclamation, declaring, that her Majesty had resolved, out of the tender love she had for *Castile*, and the good people thereof, to take upon her self the Government, and after the Example of all her Royal Progenitors, to govern her Subjects according to the Ancient Laws, and not to suffer them to be any longer tyranniz'd over by Strangers.

Never was any thing receiv'd with a greater or more universal joy than this News was all over the Kingdom of *Castile*, in which for several Days nothing was hear'd, but *Long may our Castilian Queen live, and may Foreign Counsellors perish*; and as the next night after, *the Queen's having assumed the Government*, was celebrated at *Tordesillas*, *Valedolid*, and all the neighbouring places with Illuminations and Fireworks; it was celebrated

orated ſo in all parts of the Kingdom, as oon as they had the News of it: And to give the Queen ſome Diverſion, a Tilt on Horſeback was performed by ſeveral young Noblemen under the windows of her Apartment; the Queen ſtood in a Balcony to ſee t, and ſeemed to be well pleaſed both with he Exerciſe, and the loud Acclamations of he People, who had flocked together to ſee ier.

Upon the Queens having been thus diverted, the *Junta* conceived hopes that ſhe night be perfectly cured of her Melancholy, and to that end they diſmiſs'd her Keeper, and all the other Officers that were about er, that were ſuſpected to be in her Son's nterest, putting *Don Alonſo Quintinilla* and is Lady, in the room of the Marquiſs of *Denia* and his Marchioneſe; and believing hat a Living Husband might be a proper neans to cure her of her diſtemper'd fondneſs for her Dead Hubands Body, they releaſed *Don Ferdinand*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Naples* out of his Priſon, in which he had been kept ſeveral Years, with an intention of marrying him to the Queen: But that rince, we are not told for what Reaſon, aving quickly left the Commons, and made imſelf a Priſoner again, this great Deſign ame to nothing: The *Junta* being, it is like, fraid that they might have diſobliged their

Queen,

Queen, had they gone about to have perſuaded her to have married one of her Subjects.

It had been happy for the Commons never to have taken any notice of this diſtemper'd Princeſs; who having relapſed ſoon after into her former Melancholy, and to which the removing of all her old Servants might probably have contributed, the *Junta*'s having contrived to have ſet her on the Throne, was the cauſe of the firſt diſunion that had appeared in that Body: For though the deſiring the Queen to take the Government upon her ſelf has been carried in the *Junta* by a great Majority, yet its having been violently oppoſed by ſeveral of the Procurators of ſome of the chief Cities, and particularly by thoſe of *Burgos*, made ſuch a Rent in that Aſſembly, as was never well cemented: For beſides that, that great City was much influenced by the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, who lived in it: It was very much diſobliged by the *Juntas* having given the firſt Place in a *Cortes* to the Procurators of *Toledo*, to which *Bugos* had always pretended: Which Controverſie, betwixt thoſe two great Cities, though it was of a very long ſtanding, no *Cortes* had ever taken upon it to decide.

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The Cardinal, who was extremely troubled at the *Junta*'s having got the Queen in their keeping, and at the great joy the news of her having promiſed to come abroad, and take the Government into her own hands, had been entertain'd with, all over the Kingdom, diſpatch'd the Biſhops of St. *Lucar*, and of *Oveido*, who were both reckoned to be well-wiſhers to the Commons, to *Tordeſillas*; to which place the *Junta* was come, with ſome new Propoſitions.

But tho' the *Junta* would not receive thoſe two Popular Prelates, as Deputies ſent to them by the Governor of the Kingdom, they gave them an Audience, as Meſſengers ſent to them by the Cardinal, and having conſidered the Propoſitions which they brought, they deſired them to let the Cardinal know, that tho the Commons of *Caſtile* did not doubt of his being a true friend to them and their Liberties, yet they had no reaſon to think, that he had Intereſt enough in the King to be able to do them any Service.

A few days after, four Perſons of Quality were by the *Junta* diſpatched to *Valedolid*, to Command the Cardinal, in the Name of the Queen, and of all the Commons of *Caſtile*, not to preſume to call himſelf, or Act any longer as Governor of the King-

dom, and to command the Council of State to come with all its Books, and Officers, to *Tordesillas*, where their Sovereign Queen kept her Court: the Persons in this Commission were, *Don John de Padilla*, General of the Forces of *Toledo*, *Don Francis Bravo*, General of the Forces of *Segovia*, *Don Alonso Aguila*, General of the Forces of *Abula*; and *Don John Zapata* General of the Forces of *Madrid*, and who had for their Speaker, Father *Alonso Medina*, an Eloquent *Dominican* Fryer.

These Commissioners were received by the People of *Valedolid* with all the expressions of a great Joy, and having been admitted into the Council of State, which had been Assembled by the Cardinal, at their request, and at which, the Cardinal himself was present; the first thing they desired, was, that Father *de Medina* might be heard, which having been granted, that Fryer in a long Tragical Harangue, laid before the Council, the great Miseries the Kingdom groaned under, and the causes of all those Miseries; and having extolled the Holy *Junta*, as he call'd it, to the Skyes, as an Assembly of the wisest Men, and best Patriots, that had ever been before in *Castile*; he earnestly exhorted the Council, as they desired to prevent the Ruin of their Country, to joyn themselves to the *Junta*, which had

ad no other Aims, but the Security of the ublick Liberty, and the Preſervation of ie Rights of the Subject: All which, he id, ſhould the Commons, now they had ken up Arms, to aſſert them, be Conuered by the King, and his Court, would eternally loſt, and *Caſtile*, of the moſt enowned, would become the moſt Conmptible, and Miſerable Kingdom in the orld. After the Fryer had done ſpeakg, the Commiſſioners delivered their Meſge, and commanded the Cardinal and ounſel of State to yield Obedience to it, on pain of the Queens', and Common's gh Diſpleaſure.

The Cardinal, after having complained the *Junta's* having ſlighted all the kind, d ſincere Offers he had made them of his vice, and re-primanded Father *Medina* erely, for having left his Cell, to turn a *mpeter of Sedition*; deſired the Comſioners to let the *Junta* know, *that being King's Natural born Subject, he was no Foner in the Eye of the Law of* Caſtile, and t as he had never been in a correſponice with any that were Enemies to the ertys of the Subject, ſo he was reſolv'd ne- to enter into any ſuch Correſpondence. er the Cardinal had done ſpeaking, the ſident of the Council told the Comſioners, *That the Cardinal having been*

appointed by the King, Governor of the King dom, during the time of his Absence; it was no Lawful for them to Assemble any where with out his Order: The Commissioners Answer'd *The Junta will be Obeyed*, and so left the Coun cil, and went strait to the Town-house where the Magistrates of the City had beer order'd to attend them; and who having been Harangu'd by Fryer *Medina*, and told among other things, *That if they did no execute the commands of the Holy Junta on th Cardinal, and the Council of State, they woul pull down the Vengeance of Heaven, and o the whole Kingdom upon their heads*, they promised to see the *Junta* obey'd in that and in every thing else, so far as they had power to serve it; and they were as good as their word, for after this, they did no only hinder the Cardinal from appearing and acting as Governor of the Kingdom but confined him to his House, obliging al the Privy Councellors they could mee with, to go with their Officers to *Tordesil las*; the Cardinal who had been twice ta ken, and brought back to his House, as he was attempting to have got away, under standing that Dr. *Olmedilla*, and Dr. *Benar dino*, two Famous Lawyers, and who had always been suspected of being Friends to the Commons, were going of their own accord to *Tordesillas*; he sent to speak with them

them before they went, and when they waited upon him, he told them, that ſince they would go to the *Junta*, he would have them let that Aſſembly know, that if they would promiſe to let things continue as they are until he returned, that he would go to *Germany*, as the Solicitor of the Commons of *Caſtile*, with their King, and from whom, if he were with him in Perſon, he did not queſtion to obtain as much for them as they could in reaſon deſire of him. The Lawyers did not only promiſe to acquaint the *Junta* with this Propoſition, but did they would uſe their utmoſt endeavour to perſwade them to accept of it; which, when they were at *Tordeſillas*, they were ſo far from doing, that inſtead of telling the *Junta*, that the Cardinal deſired to go to *Germany*, to Serve the Commons, they told them, that he deſired to have leave to come to them at *Tordeſillas*, to confer with them; to which the *Junta* agreed, but upon four conditions.

The *Firſt* was, That he ſhould not Aſſume the Title, nor uſe any of the Enſigns of Governor of the Kingdom.

The *Second* was, That he ſhould not come with any Guards.

The *Third* was, That he should go strait to the Lodgings which should be provided for him, and not go abroad without the *Junta's* Leave.

And the Last was, That he should send no Letters to the King, nor to any other Person, without having first shewed them to the *Junta*.

Don Peter Giron, who was a great Friend of the Cardinals, was sent by the *Junta*, to wait upon him to *Tordesillas*, if he would agree to those Conditions; but the Cardinal when *Giron* had acquainted him with the business, deny'd that he had ever said any thing to those Lawyers, about having leave to go to the *Junta*; and being vehemently urged by *Giron*, to go to them, however; alledging, *That he would be able to do both the King and the whole Kingdom great Service by it*; he reply'd, *That unless he were carried to the Junta by force, he was resolved never to go to that place where they sat upon any terms, and much less upon the dishonourable terms which they had been pleased to prescribe:* So he continued under confinement at *Valedolid*, until he received Advice of *Don Henrique Henriquez*, the Admiral of *Castile*, being marched into the Kingdom with an Army he had drawn out of the Garrisons of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, and having after that stole out of the Ci-

by Night, attended only by one Servant, he fled to *Rioſeco*, a Caſtle belonging to the Admiral: And where he had not been long, before the *Biſcainers*, whoſe Barren Country is their only grievance, ſent him ſome Troops for his Guards, with an offer of more to reduce the Commons of *Caſtile* to obedience.

The Iſland of *Gervis*, which is one of the *Syrtes*, having at this time been taken from the *Spaniards* by the *Turks*, the Gariſon that was in that Iſland, when it was landed in *Spain*, was courted by both ſides to join with them; and *Giron* having been employed herein by the *Junta*, acquitted himſelf ſo well, by having with his own Money gained moſt of thoſe Soldiers to declare for the Commons, that he was for that Service declared Generaliſſimo of all their Forces, to the great diſcontent of the Soldiery, and of all the Commons, who could not endure that any one, and much leſs *Giron*, of whoſe delity they were ſtill jealous, ſhould be ſet over *Padilla*; who was commonly called by them the *Hannibal* of his age: and who if the Populace could have had their wills, had been proclaimed King of *Caſtile*; as he was by the Vicar of *Mediana*, a Town in the Neighbourhood of *Abula*; who exhorted his Auditors to ſay three *Ave Marys* with a moſt profound Devotion; one for the *Holy*

Junta, *That God would prosper it*: A second for his Majesty, *Don John de Padilla*; and a third for her Majesty, *Donna Maria de Padilla*, *That God would prolong their Days*: And when he observed the Congregation appear'd astonish'd at what he had said; he told them boldly, *That they who aimed at nothing but the Publick Good, were fit to be Sovereigns, and not they who oppress't the People, and went about to rob them of their Liberties.*

The first thing *Giron*, after he was made Generalissimo, was ordered by the *Junta* to do, was to sack *Alhagio*, a Castle belonging to *Fonseca*, in revenge for his having burnt *Medina Campi*: but that Castle being well fortified and manned, *Giron*, after having assaulted it several times, and lost a great many Men before it, was obliged to give it over; which ill success in his first Enterprize, did very much increase the suspicion the Commons had of his Fidelity to them, by reason of his being nearly related to the Admiral, and most of the Grandees, which they looked on as their most dangerous Enemies: But the *Junta* having been satisfy'd by *Giron*, of his having done all that he was able, to have executed their Orders, continued him in that high Post, until he gave them their Deaths Blow; but whither

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thorow Treachery, or only thorow ill Conduct, is not known certainly.

Don Inigo de Velaſco, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, having ſtill appeared extremely diſcontented with the Court, had been ſuffered to live quietly in his Houſe in *Burgos*, until now, that it was diſcovered, that in the beginning of the Troubles, he had perſuaded a Meſſenger that had been ſent by that City to the Province of *Marindatis*, to invite them to enter into the Aſſociation, not to go, and that he had kept him concealed in his Houſe ever ſince: The Rumour of which Diſcovery, having raiſed the Populace, they ſurrounded the Conſtable's Houſe, threatning to ſet fire to it, if their Treacherous Meſſenger were not immediately brought forth to them: At firſt the Conſtable deny'd that there were ever any ſuch perſon in his Houſe, and gave the people leave to ſearch it all over for him, and when he found that would not do, he offered to deliver their Meſſenger, if they would promiſe only to ſpare his Life; but being told, that they would not make any ſuch Promiſe, but would burn him with their Meſſenger in his Houſe, if he did not immediately bring him forth; the poor Wretch was put into their hands, and was forthwith hanged upon the Conſtable's Gates, on which they threatned to hang the Conſtable himſelf too, if he did

not

not immediately leave *Burgos*: The Constable promised to obey them, and before Night he removed with his whole Family to his Countrey House in the Neighbourhood of that City; where having lived privately till the heat of the Populace was asswaged: He entred into a Treaty with the Magistrates, offering, if they would promise, not to commit any Act of Hostility until they could have an Answer from the Court, to join with the Commons, in case the King deny'd to give his Assent to the following *Provisions* being passed into *Laws*:

1. *That none but Natives of* Castile *should be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State.*
2. *That it should be death to carry Money out of the Kingdom.*
3. *That there should be no such thing as Free Quarters.*
4. *That the Excises should be reduced to what they were anciently.*

Lastly, *That it shall not be lawful for the King to lay any new Taxes upon the Subject, unless they be given by a Free Cortes.*

Whether the *Constable* was in earnest in this Treaty, or designed only to amuse the *Commons*, and to gain time till the Army he had sent for out of *Navar* was come up to him; upon the Magistrates of *Burgos* having agreed

to

to it, he put two of his Sons as Hoſtages into their hands: And after that, he prevailed with them to order their Procurators, in the *Junta*, for to labour to perſwade that Aſſembly to come to the ſame Agreement, and to threaten to leave them if they did not, or if they talked any more of depriving the King of the Authority and Title which had been conferred on him, by the *Cortes* of the Kingdom.

The Cities of *Zamora* and *Soria*, having come to an Agreement with the Nobles in their Neigbourhood, upon the ſame Articles, ſent the ſame Orders to their Procurators; to which Articles the *Junta* having abſolutely refuſed to agree, or not to act any longer in the Queen's, without the King's Name, a great heat and diſunion was cauſed by it; all which ſeparate Treaties, and ſeeds of Diſſention, the *Junta*, had it been as hot in Execution, as it was in Council, might very eaſily have prevented: For, if upon the Burning of *Medina Campi*, by which the whole Kingdom was put into a Flame, they had but removed the Queen to *Toledo*, and had ſecured the Cardinal, the Conſtable, the *Conde Beneventum*, and a few more of the Grandees in the ſame City, they had never been troubled with theſe Diviſions, nor in all probability had ever been deſtroyed by any *Spaniſh* Army.

But

But from making such bold, but necessary steps, the *Junta* was hindred, partly by the the hopes they were still in of gaining the Nobles to joyn with 'em, but chiefly by the feeble fear of making their Case desperate, which, considering what they had already done, was certainly a great weakness in them.

The King, who had not seem'd to regard the Remonstrances which had been made to him by the Cardinal, and others, concerning the dangers his Crown was in, in *Castile*, when he heard of the *Junta*'s having got his Mother into their hands, and of its being given out, and universally believed that she was perfectly in her Senses, and had promised to take the Government of the Kingdom upon her self, he was very much alarm'd, and judging it to be absolutely necessary for him to do something to quiet the minds of the *Castilians*, and to give them hopes of having all their grievances redressed, he appointed the Constable, and Admiral of *Castile*, in Conjunction with the Cardinal Governors of the Kingdom, and promised to return speedily to *Castile*, and to call a *Cortes*, and therein to grant his good People all that they could in reason desire of him.

But when this Commission arrived, and was opened, as the Constable and Admiral did

did both declare that they would not accept of it, becauſe it did not give them Power ſufficient to accommodate Matters with the Commons; ſo the *Junta* declared it to be void, for two Reaſons;

1. *Becauſe it made the Cardinal, who was a Foreigner, one of their Governors.*

2. *Becauſe it had been Signed out of the Kingdom, which they ſaid, ſuch a Commiſſion ought not to be.*

But at this time a Letter of the Cardinal's to the King was intercepted, & made publick by the *Junta*, which, as it increaſed their former good Opinion of the Cardinal, ſo it confirm'd 'em in their deſpair, of ever obtaining any Redreſs of their Grievances from the Court. In which Letter the Cardinal told the King, with a *Dutch Freedom*, that all the Miſeries of *Caſtile* had flow'd from his own ſide, and that as often as he conſidered how great the Evils were which that Kingdom had been brought under by his Covetous, and Tyrannical Miniſters, and how he had left the *Caſtilians*, without giving them any hopes of ſeeing thoſe Evils ever remedied, he knew not well how to condemn the Commons, ſeeing their Caſe ſo deſperate, for having had recourſe to Arms: He told the King farther, that he muſt not hope ever to ſee a good end put to the preſent Diſturbances, until *Caſtile* found it ſelf Governed

verned by its King, and according to its Laws, and not according to the Wills and Passions of Covetous and Arbitrary Ministers: and that the King might not trust too much to the Power and good Affection of the Nobles, he assured him, that they were no less discontented than the Commons, with the Government of his Ministers; the *Conde* of *Beneventum* having told him plainly, that if the King did not satisfy the Commons, by granting them all their just Demands, that he was resolved to joyn with them; and for the Admiral, that he had said openly, that the Sparks in *Germany*, who had no Honours and Estates in *Castile* to lose, and who, after they had enraged the Commons almost to Madness, were got out of their reach, must not think, that they who had both to lose, and were in the Jaws of the Enraged Commons, would not take some course to preserve themselves, and their Families; and that he had said farther, that he would joyn with the Commons, to help them to a Redress of their known, great Grievances. In the conclusion, he told the King, that if he did not remove all those Ministers that had oppress'd and provok'd the *Castilians* so highly, and did not Govern the *Castilians* with more Wisdom and Moderation, that they would certainly lay both him and his Ministers

ſters aſide; at leaſt, whilſt his Mother liv'd, who in one great Point was ſaid by the *Caſtilians*, *To be wiſer than her Son:* Which was, that none could perſuade her to part with any thing; whereas her Son knew not how to deny any thing to the Harpys he was governed by.

The Commons made great uſe of this Letter, to juſtify their having taken up Arms; as they did alſo of a new Project of the *Northern* Miniſters, which had fallen into their hands, how the Revenues of the Crown might be ſo increaſed, that the King ſhould never have any occaſion to call a *Cortes* for Money.

The Admiral having advanced with his army near to *Rioſeco*, left it there, and without having ſeen the Cardinal, went, attended only by his Menial Servants, to *Tordellas*; where finding the Gates ſhut againſt him, he ſent a Servant to deſire leave to come in, having an Affair of great moment to communicate to the *Junta*, and which he was certain would be acceptable to them.

But the *Junta* knowing the Admiral to be a crafty Man, ſent him out word, *That if he had any thing to communicate to them, he might do it by writing*; the Admiral then deſired, *That his Kinſman* Giron *might be ſent out to hear what he had to offer*; who having been

been left by the *Junta* to his liberty, to go out to the Admiral, or stay, sent him word. *That the Post he was in, would not suffer him to wait upon him*, knowing very well, that if he had gone out to him, he should have encreased the Jealousies the Commons had of him already.

But though the Admiral was much displeased with the *Junta*, for having deny'd to hear what he had to offer to them, yet having, when he was come near to *Rioseca* been met by the Cardinal, with all the Troops he had got about him, he cry'd out to the Soldiers, *You must turn your Arms against the* Moors, *and not against the Commons of* Castile *who are our own flesh and blood, and must not be reduced to obedience by force, but by a redress of all their true Grievances:* And so zealous did the Admiral appear to have these Commotions ended in that manner, that he went within a few days a second time to *Tordesillas* attended only by his own Domesticks, where finding the Gates shut again, he desired the *Junta*, if they would not suffer him to come in, to send out some Deputies to hear what he had to offer; which having been done the Admiral delivered the following *Articles* to the Deputies, offering, if the *Commons* would be satisfy'd with them, to join with them, until the King should give his assent to their being passed into Laws.

The

The *Articles* were,

I. *That none that are not Natives of* Caſtile *ſhall be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State.*
II. *That it ſhould not be lawful to ſend Money out of the Kingdom.*
III. *That the Exciſes ſhall be reduced to what they were formerly.*
IV. *That the Authority of the* Alcaldes *of the Court ſhall be retrenched.*
V. *That the great Expences of the Court ſhall be leſſened.*
VI. *That Sumptuary Laws ſhall be made.*
VII. *That no Wool ſhall be exported.*
Laſtly, *That all the Commodities of the Kingdom ſhall be exported on Homebuilt Bottoms.*

Theſe *Articles* having been peruſed by the Deputies, the Admiral asked them, *What they thought of them?* they told him, *They had no power to conclude or treat, but only to report to the* Junta *what ſhould be offer'd:* He then deſired to know, whether they believed the *Junta* would be ſatisfy'd with them; they anſwered, *they did not think they would;* and being asked why, they ſaid, *becauſe they had rejected better Articles, offered to them by the Procurators of* Burgos, *from the Conſtable:* However, they promiſed to make

a true Report to the *Junta* of all that he had said and offered; which having been done, the *Junta* sent the Admiral out word; *That though all that he had offer'd was good, yet it fell so much short of what the Commons insisted on, and with good reason; that they could not without betraying the Trust reposed in them by the Commons of* Castile, *be satisfy'd with so little*; and did therefore refer him to the *Manifesto*; which had been published by them, of the Things the Commons insisted on having granted; intreating him, as he loved his Countrey, to join with them upon those Terms: This Answer so incensed the Admiral, that being returned to *Rioseco*, he took upon him the Title of one of the Governors of the Kingdom; and having called a Council the next day, he declared in it, *That the Commons were so high and unreasonable in their Demands, that nothing was to be thought of but fighting it out with them*; and accordingly all that were in Arms, under the name of the Communities of *Castile*, and all their Counsellors and Abetters were by sound of Trumpet, commanded to lay down their Arms, and to dissolve all their Junta's and Councils, upon pain of High-Treason; offering them a Pardon for all that was past, if they did so immediately: Which Proclamation was so far from striking any Terror into the *Junta*, that they answer'd it with another

and

and which they commanded to be read in all the Markets of *Caſtile*; wherein they declared all of whatſoever degree or quality, that ſhould by force of Arms, or by any other way oppoſe the *Commons* of *Caſtile*, in the aſſerting of their Rights and Juſt Liberties, and in their Endeavours to remove Evil Counſellors, and bring them to condign puniſhment, to be Traytors to their Sovereign Queen, and their Country, commanding all people to look on them, and treat them as ſuch, upon pain of Death.

The Admiral, who did not expect to have had his Proclamation ſo briskly anſwer'd, was ſorry for what he had done; and being ſenſible that the *Commons* at that time were very ſtrong as well as high, he reſumed the thoughts of amuſing them by Treaties until the *Navar* Army were got into *Caſtile*; and ſo having added ſome new *Articles* to thoſe which he had formerly offered, he ſent them to *Villabraxim*, where the Army of the *Commons* had their Head Quarters, by *Fryar Antony de Guevara*, who at that time was much cry'd up by the Commons for the freedom he had uſed with the Miniſters and the Nobles in ſome Sermons which he had lately preached at *Rioſeco*.

Friar Antony, who was a vain ſelf conceited man, imagining that nothing was able to withſtand the force of his Oratory, gladly

accepted of this Employment; but having gone five times betwixt *Rioseco* and *Villabraxim*, without having been able to obtain an Audience, he grew angry, and was so clamarous, that the *Junta* thought fit to appoint some Deputies to hear what he had to offer; who having called *Fryar Antony*, before them, he begun an Harangue, which lasted above half an hour, in which he wished that the Duputies had heard the Sermons which had been lately preached by him before the Governors and the Nobles that were at *Rioseco*; and of which, because they had not been so happy as to hear them, he gave them some account, and particularly, of the bold and free Expressions which he had used; and after having told them how roughly he had treated the Nobles, he took the *Junta* to task, and represented all their Designs and Actions, in the blackest colours his hot Head could furnish his fluent Tongue withal; and without sparing to reflect severely on several of the Deputies that were present, as Ringleaders of Sedition, and Enemies to Peace.

When the *Fryer* had done his Declamation, which was much more like the Speech of a *Terræfilius*, than of a Mediator, the *Commissioners* demanded a Copy of it, together with the Propositions he was ready to make

both

both which he delivered to them in Writing, and aſſured them, in the King's and the Governors, and which was more, in his own name, that they ſhould all be faithfully obſerved to them, if they were accepted by the *Junta*: which, having had the Propoſitions and Declamation ſent to them, they judged, that the Propoſitions having nothing new in them that was material, ſhould have no Anſwer returned to them, but for the Declamation, they commanded the Biſhop of *Zamora*, who was one of the Deputies, *To give it the Anſwer that it deſerved, and ſo to diſmiſs the ſawcy Fryer*; commanding him, *not to preſume to come any more to* Villabraxim, *or to any other place which had declared it ſelf for the Commons.*

The Deputies having ordered *Fryer Antony* to appear before them, the Biſhop of *Zamora* gave him the following Reprimand.

Fryer *Antony de Guevara*,

THE Declamation you made here the other day, was long, ſilly, and ſaucy; for I muſt tell you, that you prated to us like a Boy that neither underſtood what he ſaid, nor what he would be at: You muſt certainly either have taken the Habit of a Fryer upon you when you

were very young, or you must be one of strong Passions, and a weak Judgment, or else you could never have imagined, that by such a Declamation, you should have been able to have perswaded us to accept of what you had to offer: I have been told, that you were one of a Free and Bold Tongue; and so long as you exercised that Faculty on the Nobles, you were reckoned to have some Judgment, as well as Zeal; but though they bore with you when you lashed them as they deserved, there is not the same Reason that we should suffer you to rail at us as you did the other day: And I must tell you, that it was happy for you, that none of our Captains were present when you did it, for if they had, they would certainly have made that sawcy and impudent Declamation your last; for which, though we should have been very sorry, we should not have known how to have helped it: However, since a Fryer in his Cell may possibly not be sensible of what this poor Kingdom has suffer'd, thorough the covetousness and tyranny of Foreign Counsellors, we will judge charitably of your Intentions, though we cannot but condemn the Folly and sawcineſs of your Words; and for the future, when you speak to persons of Gravity and Authority, you must learn to observe the Rules of Decency and Good Manners; and when you would perswade people to any thing, you must use soft words, and

not

not ſuch as provoke and exaſperate: Go therefore in God's Name, and do not you come among us any more: for if you do, you will be treated as a Spy: And for thoſe you call the Governors, you may tell them, that though they may have power to promiſe, it does not appear that they have power to perform.

But though Fryer *Antony* did not ſucceed in his Publick Negotiation, yet, if he may be believed, he did in his Private Negotiation with *Giron*, who he ſaith, was engaged by him to betray the *Junta*; but as it is not probable that *Giron* did ever betray his Party, ſo if he did, it was by perſons of higher Quality, and better Conduct that he was perſuaded to it, and particularly, the Admiral's Lady, who was his near Kinſwoman; and who after Fryer *Antony*'s Negotiation was at an end, went ſeveral times to *Tordeſillas*, when *Giron* was there, to promote a Conjunction of the Nobles with the Commons, for whom and for their Cauſe, that Lady pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal.

But whoever it was that perſwaded *Giron* to betray the Commons, if he ever did it, it is certain, that the *Junta*, in order to remove the Governors farther from the Queen and their Head Quarters did by *Giron*'s Advice, command their Army, which had been Quartered about *Tordeſillas*, to March, and

make themselves Masters of *Villa Panda*, by which means they hoped to be able so to hinder Provisions from going to *Rioseco*, that the Governors would be forc'd to leave it. But *Villa Panda* was no sooner Invested by their Army, than the Admiral was before the Gates of *Tordesillas* with a Body of three thousand Disciplin'd Foot, and seven hundred Horse; and having in the King's Name Summoned the *Junta* to Surrender the Town to him; upon their having denied to do it, he Assaulted it on all sides at once, and in a few hours carry'd it by Storm, but with the loss of great part of his Men; the People, but above all, the Priests and Fryers having defended the place until their Ammunition was all spent; neither would they after that, capitulate, but defended their Walls to the very last, with Sword in hand; the Admiral, tho' he carry'd the place by Assault, gave Quarters, and most of the Procurators of the *Junta* having fallen into his hands, he made them close Prisoners, giving the Plunder of the Town to his ill paid Soldiers.

When the Admiral first appeared before the Town, the Queen was desired by the *Junta*, to go upon the Walls, and command him upon pain of High-Treason, not to Attack a place where she was in Person, which she not only refused to do, but commanded

manded them to go and open the Gates to him, ſaying, *The Nobles had never been Traitors to the Crown of* Caſtile.

When the News of this terrible Blow reached *Villa Panda*, the Army, which had made themſelves Maſters of that place, without any loſs, , was ready to have Mutiny'd, and it was in every Body's mouth, that they had been betray'd by *Giron*, and had been drawn by him from about *Tordeſillas* on purpoſe to give the Admiral an opportunity to Surprize it; and *Giron* fearing that if he ſtaid any longer with the Army, he might be torn in pieces by the Soldiers, he ſtole out of *Villa Panda* by Night, and tho' when he was miſt next Morning, every Body concluded that he was gone to the Admiral to receive the reward of his Treachery, he never went near him, but fled directly to a Remote Caſtle, where he lived privately till the Wars were ended; and tho' after that, his Life was ſpared, he was Baniſhed, for the whole term of it, into *Africk*: So that if he did betray his Party, abating the twelve extraodinary Priviledges, which Fryer *Anthony*, in a conſolatory Letter to him, told him, were annexed to the happineſs of a perſon of Quality, being Baniſhed his Native Country, he was but ill rewarded for that Service.

The

The Procurators of the *Junta*, who had escaped falling into the Admiral's hands, fled to *Valedolid*, from whence they dispatcht a Currier to their Army, commanding it to come to 'em with all possible expedition; the Army did so, having left a strong Garison in their dear bought *Villa Panda*, which now the Governors had left *Rioseco*, and were removed to *Tordesillas*, was of little use to the Commons; and *Padilla* fearing lest the Admiral might have followed his blow, and have attacked *Valedolid*, threw himself into that City, with the Recruits he had Raised at *Toledo*, to have formed a Flying Camp.

And seeing it would have required time to have filled up the *Junta* with new Procurators, a select number was presently chosen by the Heads of the Commons, to have the Supreme Government in all publick Affairs, with the Title of *a Council of State*. And as this New Council, finding the Queen in the hands of the Nobles, never made use of her Name, but in conjunction with her Son's, according to the constitution of the *Cortes*, so from its very Birth it pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal for the King's Person, and the Support of his Royal Dignity, giving out, that if the King would but grant the Commons their just demands, that they would make him the

Greatest,

greateſt, and Richeſt Prince that ever wore the Crown of *Caſtile*, by a reſumption of all the Crown Lands, which were in the poſſeſſion of the Nobles; and ſo confident were the Commons that the Court would bite at this great Bait, that it was in every body's Mouth, that yet before Harveſt, the Nobles would be all ſent aBegging,and that without being injured, ſeeing all their Eſtates had been given to their Anceſtors by weak Princes, to whom they had been worthleſs Favourites, and not on account of any Services, which had ever been done by them, either to the Crown, or to their Country: Inſomuch,that theCommons now ſeem'd quite to have dropt their Quarrel with the Northern Miniſters, to fall the heavier upon the Nobles, and after this, no Grievance was ſo much inſiſted on, as the whole charge of the Government being thrown upon the Commons by the Nobles, having Robb'd the Crown of all its ancient Lands and Revenues, and which intolerable Burden the Commons declared they would not bear any longer.

But to whatſoever this great and ſudden change in theCommons owed its Birth,whether only to the great indignation they had conceived againſt the Nobles, for having taken the Queen out of their Hands; or to a Deſign of terrifying the Nobles into a con-

junkti-

junction with them; or to their having en tertained some hopes, that they might hav gain'd the King and his Ministers by the ten der of so great a Donative, as that of a the Alienated Crown-Lands and Revenue or to the persons whereof this new Counc consisted, being better affected to Monarchy than the leading Men in the *Junta*, who wer strongly suspected of having had a design t form *Castile* into a Commonwealth; certai it is, that after this new Council was erected the Nobles having rob'd the Crown of all it Lands, was made the chief and standin Grievance of the Kingdom, and the Public Evil of all others, the Commons seemed t have set their hearts the most on having re medy'd; this *Council* was likewise carefu not to employ any, of whose Fidelity the were not well assured; and not judging it t be safe to trust a single person any mor with the chief command of their Armies they appointed the Bishop of *Zamora*, an *Don Gonzalo Guſman*, Nephew to the Com mendador of *Calatrava*, and *James Guſman* in one Commission Joint Generalissimo of al their Forces; but the Soldiers, who were fo having *Padilla* and none else for their Gene ral, would all have mutiny'd upon this Com mission, had not *Padilla* gone among them, and told them, *That the Chief Command had been offer'd to him by the Council, and that he knowing*

nowing himself not to be qualify'd for so diffi-
lt a Post, thorough his want of Years and Ex-
rience, had absolutely refused both to be sole
neralissimo, and to be one of the Three; to
mmand the Forces of Toledo, which he had
ndertaken, *being a burthen heavy enough for*
s young Shoulders: And upon the Soldiers
t being satisfy'd with that, Commands
ving been given from him upon his hav-
g been so modest as to refuse it; he told
em plainly, That if they did not immedi-
ely approve of, and submit to what the
uncil had done, that he would leave the
my, and retire to his Country House, and
t meddle any more with Publick Business.
ne Soldiers perceiving by this that *Padil-*
was in earnest, promised to obey their new
nerals in all things; and new Levys of
en having been ordered to be made in all
e Provinces, the people listed themselves
ery where in much greater numbers than
y had ever done before, so that within a
nth after the loss of *Tordesillas*, the Com-
ns were much stronger in the Field than
r they had been since the beginning of
e Troubles.

But there were two things the Council
itated the *Junta* in, and which in the end
re the ruin of them both; the one was,
keeping in a manner only on the defence;
l so though for above eighteen Months,

they

they had the whole Kingdom almost at the devotion; yet neither of them did any thir in a Martial way, that was considerable, t wards the disabling of the Nobles to mal head against them: The other was, Th the Council notwithstanding its having b gun so briskly with theNobles,as to threa en them with a Resumption of all theCrow Lands, did afterwards no less than the *Ju ta* suffer it self to be amused withTreaty a ter Treaty, until a powerful Army w brought out of *Navar* to destroy them.

But in the mean while the Admiral pe ceiving that the Commons by the gre blow he had given them, were become bo stronger and more resolute than they we before, he endeavoured to have created Jealousy in them of all theNobles that we among them,by some Letters which he pr tended to write to the King, but which l took care to have intercepted by the *Cou cil*; in whichLetters he acquainted the Kir with the Nobles, which were among t Commons, being grown so weary of ser ing them,that they were entred into a secr treaty with him; and did all offer, if the might be assured of a Pardon, to leave t Commons at his Mercy; and having nam ed all theNobles that were among the *Co mons*, he earnestly intreated the King, Th they might all have their Pardons in as an

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ble a Form as they could deſire; aſſuring him, hat the *Commons*, ſo ſoon as they were deſer- ed by thoſe Nobles, would quickly moul- ler away, and come to nothing: But this ſtratagem of the Admirals, was defeated y his havingo ver acted in it: His having amed *Padilla* and ſome others of the Nobles n thoſe Letters, of whoſe Fidelity to them he *Commons* were too well aſſured, to enter- ain the leaſt ſuſpicion of their being in any uch ſecret correſpondence to their preju- ice, made the *Council* conclude, that it as nothing but a Trick of the Admiral's to ave made them miſtruſt their beſt Friends, that inſtead of being jealous of thoſe per- ons that were named in the Admiral's Let- rs, they confided the more in them for his aving named them; concluding from ience, that they were in no correſpondence ith him.

This Trick of the Admiral's having ſuc- eeded ſo ill, his next was to get the Pope's uncio to offer his Maſter's Mediation, and hich that Miniſter, who was entirely in the tereſt of the Court and the Nobles, was ſo rward to do, that he counterfeited a Let- r from the Cardinal *de Medicis*, by whom he Papacy was governed at that time, com- anding him to offer it: This Mediation aving been firſt offer'd to the Governors, id to the Nobles, they readily accepted of

it;

it; and the *Council* of the Commons, tho they were sensible, that the Nuncio in this Negotiation would be the Admiral's Spy or Agent, much rather than a Mediator, yet fearing lest it might bring them under a great Odium, should they refuse the Pope's Mediation, they accepted of it too, when it was offered to them, but at the same time did intend to observe the Nuncio narrowly and if it were possible, not to suffer him to come within the Gates of *Valedolid*; and accordingly, having had word sent to them by the Nuncio, that he intended to be with them the next day, they ordered the Deputies named by them for the Treaty, to go and meet the Nuncio, and conduct him to a Monastery of St. *Hierom*, that stood in the Suburbs.

But the Nuncio, when he was in the Monastery, having been told by the Deputies that was the place, the *Council* had appointed to Treat with him in, he answered them in a great Passion, that if he were not suffered to Treat with the *Council* itself, and in the City, that he would immediately give over his Mediation; the distrusting the Sincerity of the Minister of the Common Father of *Christendom*, in a Mediation of Peace, as it was plain they did, being such an Affront as was never before put upon His Holiness by any that were

were called Catholicks; which Anſwer having been ſent to the Council, tho' it increaſed their Suſpition of him, yet, dreading that they might offend the Pope, by thus diſtruſting his Nuncio, they ordered their Deputies to let him know, that Lodgings were provided for him in the City, and that they were ready to hear what he had to deſire of them: The *Portugal* Ambaſſador, who was in company with the Nuncio, Offered his Maſter's Mediation likewiſe, but the Council knowing him to be a Tool of the Admiral's, put him off, by telling him, that they hoped, the Nuncio alone would be able to accommodate Matters: That Miniſter, however, kept cloſe to the Nuncio, who having had an Audience of the Council in an hour or two after he was in *Valedolid*, he deſired them to let him have their loweſt terms they were content to come to an agreement with the Nobles upon, which having been put into the Nuncio's hands the next day, he ſent them by his Secretary to the Governors, who having peruſed them, deſired that the place of the Treaty might be an Houſe, which ſtood in the mid-way, betwixt *Tordeſillas* and *Valedolid*; and that the Deputies of the Commons might have full power to Treat, and Conclude upon all Points, as their Deputies ſhould have.

But tho' the Council agreed to the place nominated by the Nobles for the Treaty, they would not give their Deputies power to conclude any thing before they were acquainted with it, and had approved of it, notwithstanding the Nuncio urged them strongly to have done it.

But the next Morning, as the Nuncio and the *Portugal* Ambassador were going out of the Gates with the Dupties of the Commons to the place of the Treaty, the Guards having observed, that those Ministers had two laden Mules more in their Retinue than they had when they came, their whole Retinue was stopp'd, by an Order from the Council, and their Baggage having been narrowly search'd, there was a great Sum of Money found in it, and which after a short Examination, was discovered to have been paid by a Banker in *Valedolid*, to a Servant of the Nuncio's, by the Admiral's Order; which Money, as was supposed, the Nuncio was to have employ'd in Bribes, to some of the chief of the Commons Deputies at the place of the Treaty.

The Nuncio having returned in a great Storm, to his Lodgings, sent his Secretary to the Council, to demand the Money that had been taken from him, and satisfaction for the Affront that had been put upon

upon the Common Father of Chriſtendom, accuſing them of having Violated the Laws ofall Nations,in what had been done to him by their Officers ; and as he was told, by their Order, the Council bid the Secretary tell his Maſter, that they could juſtify what they had done, and that were it not for the great Veneration which they had for his Holineſs,whoſe Miniſter he was,tho' unworthy of that Character,that they would have made him have known, that one that has taken upon him the Perſon of a Mediator,ought not to be employd as anAgent by either ſide; and as for the Money,they ſaid, they knew it was none of his, but the Admiral's, and that they were reſolved to keep it.

The Nuncio having received this anſwer, eft *Valedolid*, and when he came to *Torleſillas*, he told the Admirl in a Fury, that he Commons were Rebels, fit to be hanged, and not to be treated withal, and that here was no other way of reducing them o Obedience, but by purſuing them in all laces with Fire and Sword.

But the Admiral, having ſomething more *Caſtile* to loſe than the angryNuncio,did ot think fit to take his Counſel;only to graſy him a little, he writ a Letter, and ſent by a Trumpeter, to the Magiſtrates of *aledolid*, commanding them upon pain of

High Treason, to Dissolve the Council that was in their City, and having done that, to lay down their Arms, and return to the Obedience of good Subjects:

To which Letter, the following Answer was returned by the same Trumpeter, by the Magistrates of that City,

THE Letter your Excellency sent us by this Trumpeter, contains two heads. The First is a Command to return to the Obedience of their Catholick *Majesty's. And, The Second is a Threat, to pursue us as Rebels, if we do not presently comply with this your Command.*

As to the first, as this Noble City, and in Truth, all the Commons of Castile, *have been always Faithful to their Princes, so it was nothing but the great Affection and Zeal this City has for their Catholick Majesty's, that induced them to joyn themselves to the rest of the Commons that are now in Arms, by whom nothing is desired that is not for their Catholick Majesty's Interest, as well as for the Interest of the whole Kingdom, to both which great Interests, the Nobles are at this time, and have always been Enemies: For, who were they that Apprehended King* John, *and made him a close Prisoner? were they not the Nobles? And by whom was that King set at Liberty, and Restored to his Royal Dignity? was it not by the Commons, and particularly, those of this City?*

And

And who were they that deprived King Henry, *Son to that King* John, *of his Crown, and after an Ignominious manner gave it to his Brother? were they not the Nobles? and by whom were the Authors of all those Evils driven out of* Abula, *and that King restored, was it not the Commons? and by whom, but by the Nobles, were the* Portugueze *brought into this Kingdom, with an intention of taking the Crown from Queen* Isabella, *and her Husband Don* Ferdinand, *to give it to a Stranger? and by whom were the* Portugueze *driven out of this Kingdom, and the Crown secured, but by the Commons?*

And who are they but the Nobles, that have Robb'd the Crown of its ancient Lands and Revenues, so that in the hundred Leagues which are betwixt this City and that of Compostella, *the Crown has only three Towns, the rest being all in the possession of the Nobles, by which means the Crown is forced to Burden the Commons with new Taxes, and Tributes, to support its Authority, and Dignity; and for that reason the Commons, before they will lay down their Arms, are resolved to have all the Alienated Lands, and publick Revenues restored to the Crown; the Nobles being so Rich, and the Crown so Poor, being visibly the great and standing Grievance of the Kingdom; and where-as the Commons, if their Catholick Majesty's will but be pleased to grant them all their just*

demands, will desire nothing farther of them; the Nobles, when they shall bring in the Account of the Charges they have been at in this War, against their Country, the small pittance of Lands that remain still to the Crown will not be found sufficient to satisfy them.

As to your threatning to pursue us as Rebels, with Fire and Sword, if we do not presently yield obedience to your Command, it is not unlikely that you, and the Nobles that are with you, may begin such a War upon us; but if you do, as we know certainly that it will be offensive to God, and contrary to their Catholick Majesty's Intentions, and pernicious to our common Countrey, so we are resolved to fight it out with you; and whereas we aim at nothing but the support of their Majesty's Authority, and the security of the Laws and Publick Liberties of the Kingdom, so we doubt not but thorough God's assistance, in so just a Cause, that we shall be able not only to defend our selves against all your Violences, but to destroy all the Forces you shall be able to bring into the Field against us.

We do nevertheless out of the great love we have for our common Countrey, and to prevent the Misery and Desolation it will be brought under by such a War, once more intreat you, and the Nobles that are with you, to join with the Commons, in supplicating his Majesty to redress all their great Grievances, which if you shall

continue to refuſe to do, we will come againſt you with the Armies of their Catholick Majeſties, as againſt Traytors and Enemies to your Countrey.

It is plain from this laſt *Paragraph*, that the *Commons*, for all their talking ſo high of ſtripping the Nobles of all their Crown Lands, would have let them alone with thoſe Lands, if they would but have joined with them to have procured the redreſſing of their other Grievances; for it would otherwiſe have been a madneſs in the Commons to have expected that of them.

The Council, by whoſe directions this *Anſwer* was returned to the Admiral's Letter, to let him know how they reſented his carriage towards them, ordered part of their Army to go and ſack *Turrelabaton*, a Caſtle that belonged to him; with which Deſign, the Admiral having been acquainted, by the Spies he had among the *Commons*, he march'd with all the Troops he could draw together, to have covered it; but not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to face the Forces that came againſt it, he withdrew to ſome Mountains that were near, from whence he looked on, and ſaw his Caſtle plunder'd and burnt down to the Ground; and as he was retreating to *Tordeſillas*, the *Commons* ſent him word, by one of his Servants, *That it ſhould not be long*

before they would make that place too hot for him. Presently after they plundered and sacked *Ligalos*, a Castle of the *Conde Beneventum*, and bid his Servants, go and tell their Lord, *That they who were Enemies to the Liberties of their Countrey, ought not to be suffered to have any Fortresses in it, for to support their Tyrannies.*

Had the Commons handled the Grandees thus a Year sooner, they had certainly forc'd them to join with them; but it was now too late, the *Navar* Army being now ready to enter *Castile:* But to put a stop to their present furious Hostilities, till that Army came to put an end to them, the Bishop of *Laodicea*, and *Garcia Loiasa*, a famous *Dominican*, who were both very popular, were dispatched by the Admiral to *Valedolid*, to try if they could obtain a cessation of Arms of the Council, and could set on foot a new Treaty.

But the Council, when it was vehemently sollicited by those two Popular Ecclesiasticks for a Cessation, and a new Treaty, told them plainly, *That they had been so often abused by such Shams, that they were resolved never to listen to any Proposition made to them by the Admiral:* Neither would they, had not *Padilla*, to whom they did not well know how to deny any thing, desired that there might be a Cessation only for a Week, that

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the Recruits of *Toledo*, which had begun to march, might get up to the Army, without being diſturbed. Upon which ſhort Ceſſation, a Treaty was likewiſe yielded to, at which the Admiral and Nobles offered ſuch Terms to the Commons, that *Don Peter de Laſſo*, *Padilla*, and moſt of the Commons Deputies were ſo far ſatisfy'd, as to endeavour to have promoted a conjunction upon them.

But the Council, when thoſe Propoſitions came to be reported to it, rejected them for two Reaſons; the one was, That they fell ſhort of redreſſing ſome of the Commons chief Grievances: And the other was, That they did not give the Commons a ſufficient ſecurity of the Fidelity of the Nobles, if they ſhould join with them: And thus ended the laſt *Treaty* betwixt the *Nobles* and the *Commons*, their Differences being, after that, left to the Sword to decide.

And ſo the Council having had intelligence, that the Prior of St. *John* had got a conſiderable Body of Men together about *Mota*, and was very active againſt them, they ſent the Biſhop of *Zamora* with a Force much ſuperior to the Priors, to clear the Countrey of him: But the Prior when the Biſhop drew near him, finding that he was not ſtrong enough to keep the Field, pretended to be ſo great a Friend to the Commons and their

Cauſe

Cause, that he offered to join his Troops to those of the Bishops, to maintain it: And having by this Pretence obtained a Truce for two days, he fell upon the Bishop the night before the expiration of that term; and having made a great Slaughter of his men before they could stand to their Arms, the rest were all dispersed; the Bishop himself having narrowly escaped being made a Prisoner.

The Prior endeavoured to excuse this Breach of Faith, by pretending that his Men had fallen upon the Bishop without his Order; and the Town of *Mota*, which had been the Prior's Head Quarters, having in his absence, Declared for the Commons, shut its Gates against him, tho' he return'd to it Victorious: and being resolv'd to defend it self against him to the last, assoon as the Prior began to Fire upon them, they lodg'd all their Women, Children, and best Goods in the great Church, from whose Tower they annoyed the Prior very much with a piece of Canon they had planted upon it; but a Barrel of Powder hapning to take fire in the Tower, shaked the Church so, that its whole Roof fell in, and killed all that were under it: by which terrible Blow, the Besieged were so disheartned, that they immediately Capitulated, and delivered the Town to the Prior.

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The people of *Burgos* being alarm'd with the News of a great and well diſciplin'd Army, which had been drawn out of *Navar*, advancing towards them; they ſeiz'd on the Conſtable; and having made him a Priſoner, they ſent to the Council for Men, Artillery, and Ammunition, to defend their City, in caſe it ſhould be attacqued, as they had cauſe to fear it would very ſpeedily: The Council knowing of how great importance it was to their Affairs, not to ſuffer that City to come into the Hands of the Nobles, they immediately diſpatched the Biſhop of *Zamora* and *Padilla* with a great Body of Troops, and all other Neceſſaries, and with Orders, to fortify that City, and put a ſtrong Garriſon into it; and to aſſure the people, that if they were beſieged, the whole Force of *Caſtile* ſhould be ſent to their relief: But before thoſe two Generals were got half way to *Burgos*, they had intelligence of that City's having come to an agreement with the Conſtable, and that they had received the King's Regidor, whom in the beginning of the Troubles they had chaſed from among them: upon this ſudden change *Zamora* and *Padilla* were ordered by the Council to go and help the *Conde de Salva Terra* to recover *Ampudia*, which had been taken from him by ſome Troops of *Biſcainers*, upon that *Conde*'s having declared himſelf on the ſide of the

Commons;

Commons; which having been done b
thoſe two Generals with very little loſs, the
returned to *Medina Campi*, where they re
freſhed their Troops, which were much fa
tigu'd by a long March thorow a Mountain
ous Countrey, until the Recruits of the Ci
ties of *Salamanca*, *Segovia*, and *Abula* cam
thither; which Recruits, notwithſtandin
all the Admiral's Endeavours to have inter
cepted them, they conveigh'd in ſafety t
Valedolid; to which place, ſuch large re
cruits came at this time from all parts of th
Kingdom, that the Commons Army wa
now much greater than it had ever been be
fore.

But as their Soldiers were all raw and un
diſciplin'd, ſo among all their General Of
ficers, though they abounded with ſuch
there was not one of any Experience in War
and among the *Subalterns* there were bu
few that knew much of it.

And though the Council could not but b
ſenſible that ſuch a Herd, though never ſ
numerous, and perſonally never ſo ſtout
would not be able to ſtand before the *Vete
rane* Army that was coming againſt them
from *Navar*, we do not read that they eve
apply'd themſelves to the *French*, though a
that time in open War with the Crown o
Spain, to have diverted that Army from com
ing into *Caſtile*, by cutting them out work

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at home: And if it is ſtrange that the Council did not make uſe of the *French* to divert an Army which was the only Force that could have deſtroyed them, it is more wonderful that the *French*, who have never ſuffered much by their being too ſlow, ſhould not, without being ſollicited to it, have done the Commons of *Caſtile* ſo great a piece of Service: For tho' it is true that the *French* over-run the Kingdom of *Navar*, with the more eaſe, for their not having invaded it, until after the Army was drawn out of it into *Caſtile*; yet by having given that Army leiſure to ſubdue the Commons, and which they muſt needs know it would do with great eaſe, they loſt that Kingdom again, in as ſhort a time as they had conquer'd it; upon that Armys having returned home victorious and much ſtronger too by having been reinforced in *Caſtile* by the Admiral's Troops which could not otherwiſe have been ſpared out of that Kingdom.

It was in this *Navar* War, that *Ignatius Loyola*, the Founder of the *Jeſuits* was, to the great unhappineſs of the whole world, hurt at *Pamplona* with a Bullet; that hurt having been the occaſion of his giving over the Soldiers Trade, and of his having turned firſt an Enthuſiaſt, and afterwards the Contriver of a Society that has done much more miſchief in the World than Bullets and

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Gunpowder, abating them this one thing of their having wounded *Loyola* and not killed him.

The *Navar* Army being come near to *Burgos*, the Constable forgetting all the Promises he had made to that City, concerning the redressing of several of the Commons chief Grievances, went and put himself at the head of it; and having taken upon him the Title of one of the Governors of the Kingdom, he by sound of Trumpet proclaimed all that were in Arms under the name of the Communities of *Castile*; or that were any way assisting to them, Traytors; but at the same time, offered them a general Pardon, if they would immediately lay down their Arms, and return home quietly to their Houses; and having put a good Garison into the Castle of *Burgos*, he marched towards *Tordesillas*, having sent to the Admiral to come and meet him with all his Forces, that being joined they might, if it was possible, bring the Commons to a Battel, before the *French*, who had enter'd *Navar* as soon as the *Spanish* Army was drawn out of it, had made themselves Masters of that Kingdom.

The Council, whose Wisdom it would certainly have been, to have done all that was in their power to have avoided being brought to a Battel, and which might have been

been done, by having drawn their Army out of the Field, to garrison their Cities and great Towns; few or none of which the *French* would have allowed the Governors leisure to have besieged; neither were the Governors provided of a Train of Artillery, and other necessary Materials for such a Work; But instead of taking this safe course in their present circumstances, trusting, it is like, to their great numbers, they commanded their whole Army to march, and Encamp it self about *Turrelabaton*, with Orders to prevent the Conjunction of the two Royal Armies, and to Fight either of them single, if they found it necessary to keep them from joyning.

But the Constable, who before had Marched directly towards *Turrelabaton*, having received Intelligence of the Common's, whole army being Encamped about that place, he altered his course, and Marching day and night, chopped berwixt *Valedolid* and *Turrelabaton*, so as to cut off all Communication betwixt the Council and their Army, where having been joyned by the Admiral, they immediately sent a Trumpet to *Valedolid*, commanding that City, upon pain of Treason, to lay down their Arms, and to receive the Garison they were ready to send to them: with which Summons the Magistrates, and others, that had any

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thing to lose, were so terrify'd, that they were for sending the Keys of their Gates presently to the Governors, with an humble Petition for a General Pardon.

Neither would the Council have been able to have hindred them from doing it, had not a *Dominican*, and a *Trinitarian* Fryer run through the Streets, crying out the City was Betray'd, and would, if it were not speedily prevented, be put into the hands of the Nobles, upon Discretion with which out-cry, the Populace having been raised, they, with their two Fryers at their Head, ran in a great Fury to the Town-House, where having threatned to cut the Throat, and burn down the House of the first Man that talked of delivering up the City to the Nobles; they brought out the City-Standard, and having set it up in the Field without the Gates, they commanded all that were able to bear Arms upon pain of Death to repair to it immediately, to defend the City, and the Common Liberties of their Country, which were at the point of being lost.

But the Governors being sensible, that if the Commons Army were once routed, that *Valledolid* and all their other Places would fall into their hands of course, never intended to lose time; which the *French* being victorious in *Navar*, made to be very precious

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to them in ſlow Sieges; and accordingly, the very next day after their Armies were joined, they marched directly toward *Turrelabaton*, where the Commons Army ſtill remained; and fearing leſt when they heard of their Conjunction, and of their advancing towards them, that they might retreat to ſome Mountains which were near, they ſent all their Horſe, with a great number of Trumpets before, with Orders, *If they found the Commons moving towards the Mountains, to fall upon their Reer, and keep them in play till the Foot came up:* And

It was ſo as the Governors had apprehended, the Common's Generals, ſo ſoon as they heard of the conjunction of the two Royal Armies, having reſolved to decamp, and intrench themſelves among the Mountains, where, if the Governors ſhou'd attempt to force them to a Battel, their Cavalry, in which their main ſtrength conſiſted, would be but of little uſe to them.

But as a great, but undiſciplined, and ill Officer'd Army, is an unwieldy Body for any Regular Motion; ſo before the Commons had diſlodged, news was brought by their Scouts, of the Governor's whole Cavalry being come within a few Miles, and that they Marched ſo faſt, that they would quickly be up with them: The Common's Raw Generals, who were at their

wits end, were so long in deliberating, whether, now that Night was coming on, it would be safest for them to keep their Ground, and wait for day-light, or decamp immediately, and make their Retreat in the dark; that before they could come to any Resolution upon that point, they were Alarm'd with a mighty noise of Trumpets, upon which, they Commanded the Army to Dislodge immediately, and with the greatest Silence possible, to retreat toward the Mountains.

But so strangely were the raw Soldier terrify'd by the darkness of the Night, and the great noise of Trumpets, which still drew nearer and nearer, that they no sooner began to move, than their Horse and Foot were all thorow one another, and their Ranks being all broke, instead of Retreating Orderly, they fled towards the Mountains in the greatest Confusion imaginable.

So that the Royal Cavalry, when they came up, meeting with no manner of Opposition, trotted thorow them in the dark, without losing, or killing one single Man, unless it were some that they rod over; and before it was light, they had put themselves betwixt the foremost of the Foot and the Mountains. And tho' after it was day, the Common's Officers did all

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that was poſſible to have brought both their Horſe, which were got among the Mountains, and their Foot into a Body, telling them, that if they would but fall upon the Royal Cavalry, which was ſo tired with their long March, that their Horſes were ſcarce able to ſtand, or their Riders to ſit them, that they might with great eaſe, cut them all to pieces; yet ſo great was the Conſternation they were in, that there was no perſwading either the Horſe to face about, or the Foot to draw into a Body to Fight their way to them: So the Officers perceiving that it was in vain to ſtrive any longer, ſhifted every Man for himſelf as ſecretly as he could, endeavouring by bieways, to have got into *Navar*, of which Kingdom they had heard the *French* had made themſelves Maſters.

The Foot having laid down their Arms, cry'd out for Quarter, which was not only granted to them, and to all the *Subalterns* by the Governors, who having left their Foot behind them, were at *Turrelebaton* very early in the Morning; but they were all commanded to leave the Field immediatly, and run home to their Houſes before the Governor's Infantry came up, which wou'd not eaſily have been kept from ſtripping them.

But tho the private Centinels and Subalterns were treated so Mercifully by the Governors; the General Officers that were taken by some fresh Horse which were sent in pursuit of them, scaped not so well: *Don John de Padilla*, and *Don John Bravo*, and *Don Francis Maldonada* having been taken Prisoners, were all three Beheaded the next day after the Rout; *Don Peter Maldonada*, was likewise Sentenced to die; but having been Reprieved, at the intercession of his Uncle, the *Conde* of *Beneventum*, he, and the Bishop of *Zamora* were committed close Prisoners to the Castle of *Zimanchas*.

The News of this cheap, and compleat Victory, brought the Keys of *Valedolid*, and of all the other Associated Cities and Towns, except *Toledo*, to the Governors; with humble Petitions for a General Pardon, and so strangely intimidated were the Commons in all places by this single Blow, that notwithstanding the Army they had been dispersed by, and all the other standing Forces of the Kingdom March'd forthwith against the *French*, who having over-run *Navar* like a Torrent, were ready to enter *Castile*, and tho' there did not want those who did all that was possible in all places to have perswaded them to take up their Arms again, and not to lose so fair an opportunity, to recover their lost Credit,

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and dying Liberties; they were not to be moved any where to do it. So that never did any Cauſe which was eſpouſed by the whole Body of a People, and which had been allowed time to put it ſelf under ſome Government, fall ſo flat all at once as this of the Commons of *Caſtile*, no Place beſides *Toledo*, having made the leaſt Effort to renew the War, after they had once heard of their Army's being diſperſed.

And as to *Toledo*, it was kept from Submitting by the Clergy, but chiefly by *Padilla*'s Widow, who having the Populace at her devotion, called on them inceſſantly, not to lay down their Arms, until they had ſecured the Liberties they had taken them upon to defend, and until they had taken Vengeance too on thoſe Butchers, meaning the Governors, who had cut the Throats of their beſt Patriots; and having ſent a Curriер to the *French* General, to ſollicite him, *Now he had conquer'd* Navar, *to march into* Caſtile *with all poſſible Expedition, to give life to the Commons again*; upon a Promiſe from that General, *That he would do ſo*; ſhe ſent Letters all over *Caſtile*, to exhort the *Commons*, *To take up their Arms which they had ſo diſhonerably laid down*; telling them, *That if they did not make uſe of this favourable Juncture, they muſt, to their Eternal Infamy, entail Slavery upon themſelves and their Poſterity,*

since they could never expect to have the like Opportunity again, of preserving themselves a Free People.

There not being strength enough left in *Castile*, to reduce *Toledo* by force, the Governors employd the *Marquis of Vilena*, who had a great interest in the *Sylvas*, a numerous Family in that City, to try if he could persuade it to submit; but that *Negotiation* having taken air, the *Sylvas* were all turned out of the City; as was *Don John de Cardenas* also, upon suspicion of his being in a correspondence with the *Governors*. *Padilla*'s Widow was vehemently sollicited too by her Brother the *Marquis de Mondeiar*, either to persuade *Toledo* to submit, or to leave it; promising her a great Reward from the *Governors*, if she would do either; but all the Answer he could have from her, was, *That as she did not care to outlive the Liberties of her Countrey, so, had she a thousand Lives she would lose them all, rather than receive any favour from those Traytors to their Countrey who had butchered the brave* Padilla, *for no other Reason, but for his having stood up for its Liberties.*

But whilst this Hero of a Woman was thus labouring to have raised a new War, the News came of *William de Croy*, the young *Flemish Archbishop* of *Toledo* being dead in *Flanders*, and of *Don Antony de Fonseca*, *Archbisho-*

biſhop of *Compoſtella*, who was a *Caſtilian*, being named by the King to ſucceed him: And whereas that young *Flemiſh Archbiſhop* had been all along the Clergys chief Grievance, as ſoon as they knew of his being taken away, they did not only deſert *Padilla*'s Widow, but conſpired with her Enemies to have turn'd her out of *Toledo*; and when they found that was not to be done whilſt the people were ſo much at her devotion, to ruin her credit with them, the Clergy confidently gave out, *That ſhe was a Witch, and that the Negra Maid ſhe kept was no Woman, but an Imp of Hell, that furniſh'd her with charms to faſcinate people into a veneration for her:* And to ſatisfie all her Adorers, that they were bewitched by her, they affirmed, *That by virtue of ſome very ſtrong Exorciſms, they had forc'd the Devil to confeſs as much out of the Mouths of ſeveral of her chief Admirers.*

But ſo reſolute was this Lady, who had no other Charms but thoſe kind Nature had beſtow'd on her, that though ſhe found her credit ruined, by this Report, with the Populace, who began now to look upon her as no other than a Devil, yet no Promiſes nor Threats were ſufficient to oblige her, either to leave *Toledo*, or to endeavour to perſuade that City to ſubmit it ſelf to the Governors: And when her Houſe was aſſaulted by the

Bishop of *Leon* at the head of a Multitude whom he had disinchanted with Exorcisms, she, with her own Servants, and some of the Ringleaders of the first Tumults, defended it against him for some hours; and when at last she found that there was no remedy, but that she must either capitulate (which that Bishop offered several times to do) or must be made a Prisoner, she stole by night out of the Back-Gate of her House, in a disguize, with her Sister, the Countess of *Montecute*, and having escaped out of the City, she fled to *Portugal*, where she was kindly entertained by the Noble Family of the *Pacheico's*, which was her own Maiden Name, and to which she was nearly related in Blood; neither did she ever return to *Castile*, or make any Application to the Emperor, or to any of his Ministers, for a Pardon.

The day after *Padilla*'s Widow left *Toledo*, which was the 10*th* of *February*, of the Year 1522, that City sent *Deputies* to the *Governors* with its Submission, and with a most humble Supplication to them for a *General Pardon* for themselves, and for all others who had been any ways engaged in the late Troubles: And thus ended the War of the *Commons of Castile*, which began in the *Month of April*, of the *Year* 1520. Neither did the War of the *Commons of Valentia* last much longer; Which having been all along carried

ed

ed on with much greater fury and devaſtations than that of *Caſtile*, ended in a great ſlaughter of the *Commons* in a Field Battel.

I have no where met with the Particulars of that War, and though it was on foot at the ſame time with this of *Caſtile*, I do not find that there was ever any correſpondence or communication of Councils betwixt the *Commons* of thoſe two Kingdoms, either before, or after they took up Arms.

The *September* following the Emperor returned to *Spain*, where he was the more welcome for having loſt *Chevers*, who died in *Germany*, and as it was ſaid, *Of pure paſſion, upon his Maſter's having enter'd into a ſtrict Alliance with the Pope, againſt the* French, *without having made him privy to it.*

It was generally expected that the Emperor, to quiet the Minds of the *Caſtilians*, and to reconcile them to his Perſon and Government, would preſently after he came among them, have granted them a *General Indemnity*; but he was ſo far from doing that, that the firſt Thing he order'd, was, *The beheading of the Biſhop of* Zamora, *and of* Don Peter Maldonada, *at* Simanchas; *and of ſeven of the principal Procurators of the Junta, at* Medina Campi; and when an *Indemnity* came to be granted, it was ſo clogg'd with Exceptions, that

that it gave but little satisfaction to the *Castilians*; two hundred and seventy persons being excepted in it from pardon, by name, among whom were *Padilla's Widow*, *Don Peter Giron*, *Don Peter de Lasso*, the *Conde de Salvaterra*, and a great many of the *Cadets* of the best Families in *Castile*.

The *Emperor* having returned from *Germany* very poor, and much in debt, he assembled a *Cortes* at *Valedolid*; and though the *Procurators* of that Assemby were all *Courtiers*, and most of them had been ill treated too by the *Commons*, when they were in Arms, yet they had both too much Sense, and too much Honesty, to sacrifice the Liberties of their Country, either to their own Private Interests, or to their Resentments; which upon such an occasion, a weaker and less steddy People, than the *Castilians* are, would have been in danger of having done; for at the opening of this *Cortes*, the following Wise and Honest Speech was made to the *Emperor*, by *Dr. John Rodrigo Pisa*, the *Prolocutor* of the *Commons*.

THE

THE Prolocutor's SPEECH.

Moſt Sacred Emperor, and our *Catholick* King,

WE the Procurators of theſe Kingdoms do humbly ſupplicate your Majeſty, to do the Kingdoms we repreſent, the Juſtice, as to believe that they do not yield in Loyalty and Fidelity to their Princes, to any of your other Dominions.

And as there is not one Procurator in this Cortes, that is not either of your Majeſty's Houſhold, or in ſome Office or other of your giving, and that was not a ſufferer too for your Crown in the late Seditions; ſo they do all with hearts full of Loyalty, and with much affection for your Royal Perſon and Government, beſeech you to be informed by this your Great Council, of the true State of the Affairs of Caſtile, with which the Senators, which are ſtill about your Majeſty, may not be ſo thoroughly acquainted. And though this Cortes cannot but lament the great Miſchiefs of the late Seditions, yet I muſt take the liberty to tell your Majeſty, That if you will but be pleaſed to conſider what it was that gave birth to thoſe Seditions, you will not be able to wonder at them: For is it any wonder that the demanding of a Tribute ſo imperiouſly as that

at the Groyn *was demanded; and that the having deny'd, at the instigation of some who preferr'd their own Private Interests to those of the Publick, to give ear to the Commissioners which offer'd sound Council, should beget great Disturbances? and which would never have been, had the People, according to the Ancient Custom, been heard, and had their Grievances redress'd: For had a Cortes been call'd to consult about the Publick Good, and not only for to give Money, which was the case of that at the* Groin, *they would not only have given your Majesty the Money you desired, but a great deal more, if you had occasion for it: But those things being past, I shall say no more of them, but will speak to what is present. Your Majesty was pleased in your Letters for our assembling, first to promise, To consult us about what will be for the Advantage of these Kingdoms; and after that, to demand some Money of us for the support of your Government; which Order, for being agreeable to the Ancient Custom, was very welcome to all your Majesty's Good Subjects; whose Grievances shall be first laid before your Majesty; and which we do most humbly supplicate to have redressed; neither ought it to be any prejudice to this course, that of late years, it has been the custom for* Cortes, *first to give Money, and after that to deliberate about the Publick Affairs, so long as the other is both more ancient, and more reasonable.*

We

We do therefore throw our selves at your Majesty's feet, humbly supplicating, that the Grievances of the Subjects may be first considered and redress'd, that so we may afterwards with the more freedom, do every thing that will any ways contribute to your Majesty's Grandeur and Happiness, which we shall always study to augment.

The Emperor, who was not at all pleased with this free Speech of the *Prolocutor's*, told the *Cortes* upon it, *That though no Prince could be better disposed than he was, to make all his Subjects easy, yet he could not give way to the altering of a Custom introduced by so good Policy, as that had been, of a* Cortes *first dispatching what was demanded of them by the Crown: Because, if the giving of Money were postpon'd to the remedying of Grievances, the redressing of them would no longer be looked on as an Act of Grace in the Prince, but would be reckoned to have been purchased with Money; and which otherwise would not have been given: Besides, should it be known at the Great Turk's, and some other Courts, that his Subjects had prescribed New Laws to him, his Figure and Authority would be much lessened by it:* He desired them therefore, *Not to lose time in needless Debates, but to go immediately upon the Supply which he had demanded of them, and after that was finished,* he promised, *that they*

they should have no cause to complain of him, for having deny'd any thing that is reasonable to the good people of Castile.

But the *Cortes*, notwithstanding this Promise, being still jealous, that if the Money were once given, they might be sent home with their Grievances unredress'd, did in a Body humbly supplicate the King, That the Grievances of the Kingdom might be first taken into consideration, giving him all possible Assurances, of supplying him with the Sum he had desired, after they were all once remedy'd: But having been told by the King *That it was in vain for them to struggle with him for a thing which he was resolved never to grant*; they gave it over, and presently voted the Sum that had been desired; which was, forty hundred thousand *Ducats*, to be paid in three Years. After that the following *Bills* having been agreed to by the whole *Cortes*, were presented to the King, to have his Royal Assent to them.

I. *That no Benefice or Office, Ecclesiastical, or Civil, shall be Conferred on any Foreigner.*

II. *That the King's Guards shall all be* Castilians.

III. *That the Judges in the Country shall not be paid out of the Fines of Persons that have been Sentenced by them.*

IV.

IV. *That no Money ſhall be given, or promiſed to any Perſon whatſoever, out of the Penalties of Delinquents, before they are Convicted.*

V. *That no Money ſhall be given away, before it has been paid into the Exchequr.*

VI. *That no Monk, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ſhall be capable of buying any Lands now in the Poſſeſſion of Laicks, and in caſe any ſuch Land ſhould fall to them by Inheritance, they ſhall ſell it to the Laity.*

VII. *That it ſhall not be Lawful to ſell any Grain ſtanding in the Field.*

VIII. *That no Man ſhall be hindred from wearing a Sword.*

IX. *That no Maſquerades ſhall be Tolerated.*

The King is ſaid to have given his Royal Aſſent to ſome of theſe *Bills*; but to which of them, we are not told.

The *Clergy*, who three Years before, had deny'd to pay the Tenths of their Benefices to the King, were now glad to compound with him for their Fourths, which were given to the King by *Pope Adrian*, their late Governor; who had been choſen *Pope* whilſt he was in *Caſtile*.

But the *Italians*, when *Adrian* came among them, finding him too honeſt a Man

to

to make a good *Pope*, they dispatched him quickly into the next World; neither have they ever since thought it safe, to trust a *Tramontan*, or any other, that was not by Birth, Education and Conscience, an *Italian*, with the Reins of the Papal Empire.

FINIS.

VIEW

OF

Two Caſtilian CORTE'S.

INTRODUCTION.

HAving in the foregoing Hiſtory, ſo often had occaſion to mention the Caſtilian Cortes, I ſhould have been glad here to have gratify'd the Curious with a Hiſtory of the Origen, Progreſs, Authority, Cuſtoms, &c. of that Auguſt Aſſembly; of whoſe great Name the Modern Spaniſh Cortes is a Shadow only. But having never ſeen nor heard of any Book upon that Subject, which is very ſtrange, conſidering that no Nation in the World is ſo un-

mercifully oppreſs'd, as Spain, *with Voluminous Hiſtories of Particular, and many times very Little, Perſons and Places: Inſtead of ſuch a deſirable Hiſtory, I can only preſent the* Reader *with a Short Account of Two of thoſe Aſſemblies, and which are not very Ancient: The Firſt having met in the Year* 1390; *and the Second in the Year* 1406. *They were both called by* Don Henry II. *King of* Caſtile; *in whoſe Life written in* Spaniſh *by* Gill Goncalez D. Avila, *Hiſtoriographer to King* Phil. IV. *I met with the following Accounts; and which tho ſhort and imperfect, yet are ſufficient to ſatisfy any perſon, of the Ancient* Spaniſh Cortes *having been the ſame with the* Engliſh Parliament: *And with the Aſſembly of the States in* France: *The Northern Nations, which pull'd down the* Roman *Empire, having all had th ſame Form of Government, which was a mixt Monarchy, as well after, as before their Crowns became Hereditary; which the* Gothick Spaniſh *Crown was not for ſome hundreds of Years after the* Goths *had ſetled themſelves in* Spain; *the Authority of the Government in all thoſe Nations being lodged ſo, in the King, and the Eſtates, that no Laws could be made, repealed, or ſuſpended, nor no Money raiſed upon the Subject, but with their Common Conſent.*

Which

Which Happy Conſtitution of Government, is now no where to be met with, where the Crown *is hereditary, but only in* England *and* Scotland : *And may it for ever continue in them, to be an Impregnable Bulwork againſt Anarchy and Tyranny, the Two Great Plagues of Mankind.*

A VIEW OF A CORTES

Assembled at *MADRID* in the Year 1390.

THE People of *Castile* being extremely dissatisfy'd, with the Persons named by King *John* I. in his Will, to be their Governors, during his Son King *Henry* II's Minority; the young King by the Advice of his Council did on the 22d of *October*, in the Year 1390 call a *Cortes* to meet at *Madrid*, on the 15th of *November*, for to settle the Regency, as they should judge to be most convenient for his, and his Kingdom's Honour and Safety.

The

The Persons named by the deceased King to be Governors, were *Don Alonso*, *Marquiss de Vilena*, Constable of *Castile*, *Don Peter*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, *Don John*, Archbishop of *Compostella*, *Don Peter Nunnes*, Master of *Calatrava*, *Don John Alphonso*, Conde of *Niebla*, and *Don Peter Goncales* Steward of the Houshold.

The WRIT *sent by the King to the City of* Abula.

Don Henry, by the Grace of God, King of *Castile*, *Leon*, *Toledo*, *Galicia*, *Sevil*, *Corduba*, *Murcia*, *Jaen*, *Algarve*, and *Algeziva*; and Lord of *Biscay*, *Molina*, *Conceio*, &c.

To the City of *Abula*, Health and Grace, as to those in whom we do much confide;

HAving in my former Letters acquainted you with the Death of the King, my ather and Lord; whom may God pardon: This to let you know, that by the Advice of the ersons who were Counsellors to my Father, hom may God admit into his Holy Paradise, I ve determined to call together all the Pre-tes, Masters, Condes, and Ricoshomes, and the other Nobles, and all the Procurators the Cities and Towns of these my Kingdoms

and Lordſhips; to treat about the Regency, and about whatſoever elſe ſhall be for my Service, and the Honour and Safety of my Kingdoms.

And having to that End, ſummoned all the ſaid Prelates, Dukes, Maſters, Condes, Ricoſhomes, and all the Procurators; you having a Right to ſit and vote in a Cortes, *muſt, ſo ſoon as this my* Writ *comes to your Hands, chooſe from among your Selves, Two Good and Sufficient Procurators, to Act for God's and my Service, and for the Common Good of the ſaid Kingdoms; and with this we command you to comply ſo, that your Procurators may without fail, meet me at* Madrid *on the 15th of* November *next.*

Given at *Madrid* the 22d of *October*, in the Year of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, 1390.

I, The KING.

I *Peter Alfonſo*, cauſed this to be written at the Command of our Lord the King.

NOTES

NOTES *on this* WRIT.

[*DUKES.*] Though this was an Antient Title in *Spain*, it was never Hereditary in any Family, before the present King's Father made it so, after the Example of *France*; who Created his Brother, and who was present at this *Cortes*, Duke of *Bonaventum*.

[*MARQUISE.*] This was no Hereditary Title in *Spain* neither, before the time of the present King's Grand Father, who made *Don Alonso*, a Son of *Don Peter's*, King of *Aragon*, Marquise of *Villena*.

[*MASTERS.*] These were the heads of the three Military Orders, of St. *James*, *Alcantara*, and *Calatrava*; which three Rich and Powerful Masterships are now lodged in the King, who sets Presidents over them, with the Title of Commendador Major.

[*CONDES.*] This was for many Ages, the highest hereditary Title in *Spain*, until the present King's Father, and Grand-Father, to lessen the great power of the *Condes*, Created Dukes and Marquises above them; and that the *Condes* might be the less sensible of their being Sufferers by this change, the first Dukes and Marquises were all *Infante's*, or *Princes*

of the Blood, and who, before they had those new Titles, were superior to the *Condes*.

[*RICOSHOMES.*] This was the common Title of the Barons of *Spain*, it is the compound of a *Gothick* and *Latin* Word; whereas *Manrique*, the name of a Noble *Spanish* Family, and that signifies the same, is wholly *Gothick*; this Title is agreeable to the description of *Nobilities*, being nothing else *but Riches long Possessed in a Family*.

The *Richoshomes* were of two sorts, the First, and most Honourable, were those that were such by Prescription, and were reckoned to be of the same Antiquity with the Monarchy, if not older; the *Castilians*, having at first been under the Government of a *Conde*, and afterwards under that of two Magistrates, who were called *the Judges of* Castile. The Second were those that were made *Ricoshomes* by a Patent from the King.

One was created a *Ricohome*, by the King's giving him Lands, with Royalties, and Vassals; and the Ceremony used at their Creation was, the King gave them a *Standard*, and a *Caldron*, signifying by the *Standard*, that when there was occasion, they might Arm their Vassals, and oblige them

them to follow their Standard in the Field; and by the *Caldron*, that they were bound to Maintain their Vassals, when they fought for them.

From among your Selves] The Procurators of the Cities and Towns in a *Cortes* were anciently Members of their own Body; and lived in, or near the Place they Represented: The Cities and Towns of *Castile* had always chose all their own Magistrates, until they were deprived of that Priviledge by this present King, who set a Magistrate over them, with the Title of *Corrigidor*; this great Innovation cost much Blood in several places; above a thousand having been kill'd in *Sevil*, before that City could be brought to Submit to it: All which Blood was spilt to little purpose, the Cities and Towns having in the next Reign recover'd their Ancient Priviledge, tho' they have since lost it, with all their other Liberties.

A LIST of the Procurators that were present at this CORTES.

For the City of *Burgos*.

PEter Fernandez de Villegas.
John de San-Joan.
Garci Radz.
John Alonso de Castro Duarco.
Martin Goncalez de Concerra.

Sancho

Sancho Garcia de Media.
Garci Perez de Camargo.
John Lopez de San Soles, 8.

For the City of *Toledo.*
Peter Lopez de Ayala.
Perafon de Ribera.
John Gaitan.
John Alphonſo de Zurita.
Martin Goncalez Traperos 5.

For the City of *Leon.*
Pero Nunnes de Villafanna.
Fernand Alvarez de Leon.
Goncalo Fernandez.
John Ruiz.
Alonſo Fernandez. 5.

For the City of *Sevil.*
Fernan Goncalez.
Diego Fernandez.
Garci Perez de Morales, 3.

For *Corduba.*
Lope Guitierrez.
Peter Vanegas.
Alfonſo Yannez, 3.

For *Murcia.*
John Sanchez de Ayala.
Sancho Rodriguez, 2.

For *Jaen.*
John Pelais.
Fernan Arias.
Peter Sanchez, 3.

For *Abula.*
Alfonſo Goncalez.
Sancho Sanchez, 2.

For *Salamanca.*
Rui Goncalez.
John Sanchez.
Rui Fernandez.
Rodrigo Yannez.
El Dr. Antony Sanchez.
Alfonſo Godinez.
Andrew Dominguez.
Julian Gomez, 8.

For *Zamora.*
Fernan Rodriguez Eſparegas.
Ordonno Ruiz.
Perivan de la Rua.
Gomez de Torrez, 4.

For *Segovia.*
Garci Alfonſo de Uvacana.
Fernan Sanchez de Virres, 2.

For *Soria.*
Garci Alvarez de vera.
Fernan

Fernan Sanchez.
John de Morales.
Fernan Sanchez de Talavera, 4.

For *Valedolid.*
John Manso.
Goncalo Nunnes.
Goncalo Gomez.
Rui Sanchez. 4.

For *Placentia.*
Garci Goncalos Mariscal.
Diego Gomez de Almarez, 2.

For *Baeza.*
Fernan Ruiz Narvar.
Lewis Goncalez.
John Garcia. 3.

For *Ubeda.*
Michael Ruiz.
Gil Sanchez. 2.

For *Toro.*
Diego Garcia.
John Nunnes.
Fernand Gomez.
Alfonso Ruiz, 4.

For *Calahorra.*
Diego Ximenes Arnedo.
Goncalez Falcon, 2.

For *Oveido.*
John Estrevanes, 1.

For *Xerez.*
Lucas Fernandes de Locano.
PeterGarcia deMiseria. 2

For *Astorga.*
Diego Alvarez, 1.

For *Rodrigo.*
Sancho Gomez de Ferrera, 1.

For *Badajox.*
Goncalo Sanchez, 1.

For *Coria.*
Rodrigo de San Millan.
John Alfonso Pany Agua, 2.

For *Guadalaxava.*
John Ortega.
*Gorci Lopez.*2.

For *Coruna.*
*Goncalo Annes Ferreiro.*1

For *Madina del Campo.*
Goncalo Ruiz.
John de San Pedro, 2.

For

For *Cuenca.*
Nunno Goncalez de Torre.
John Rodriguez de Navaltan.
John Sanchez, 3.

For *Carmona.*
John Martinez de Lea.
Goncalez Martinez, 2.

For *Ezija.*
Alfonso Terriandez.
Peter Diaz, 2.

For *Vitoria.*
Peter Goncolez.
Peter Garcia, the Son of *Michael Garcia,* 2.

For *Logronno.*
Goncalo Garcia, 1.

For *Fruxillo.*
Fernan Afonso.
Rui Gutierres, 2.

For *Carceres.*
Lorenco Yannes.
Garcia Martinez. 2.

For *Cadix.*
Sancho Garcia.
Fernan Gonealez. 2.

For *Xeriz.*
Goncalo Ruiz.
Alonso Sanchez.
John Fernandez de Sandoval.
John Garcia. 4.

For *Bejar.*
Gill Fernandez.
Diego Sanchez. 3.

For *Villa Real.*
Bartholomew Martinez.
Goncalo Gomez.
Alfonso Sanchez. 3.

For *Cuellar.*
Velasco Perez.
Diego Garcia.
Alfonso Garcia. 3.

For *Tariff.*
John Ramires de Allenmar, 1.

For *Hucte.*
Peter Fernandez Barajas.
Alfonso Rodriguez, 2.

For *Anduiar.*
Alfonso Goncales de Priego.
John Sanchez, 2.

For

Rui Goncalez, 2.

For *Atienca*.
Peter Alvares.
Goncalo Sanchez.
Alvar Nunnez, 3.

For St. *Sebastian*.
Pelegrin Gomez.
John de Heneras. 2.

For *Madrid*.
John Sondeval.
John Garcia, 2.

For *Sahagun*.
Garcia Alfonso.
Fernan Goncalez. 2.

For *Alcaraz*.
Alonso Lope.

For *Fuente Rubia*.
Stephen de Aluda. 1.

These are the *Procurators* that were present in this *Cortes* but whether they be all that belong to that Assembly, I cannot say, having never seen any other List of them but this.

The *Cortes* having met at *Madrid*, on the the day appointed; it was Opened with a Speech, made by the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who exhorted them to Settle the Regency so, that the Kingdoms might not suffer under this, as they had done under some former Minorities.

But tho' the *Cortes* began with the Regency, they would not Settle it, nor do no other Business, until the *Coin of* the Kingdoms, which had been rais'd by the King's Grand-father, to the great Damage of the Subjects, as it always is; was brought down to its ancient Standard, and Value, which having

having been done by a Law, on *January* 21, on the last day of the same Month the whole *Cortes* Assembled in the Church of St. *Salvador*, and did by a Solemn Act Declare; *That the Regency, during the King's Minority, should be in a Council, which they had named, and, that the King, at Sixteen Years, should be of Age:* Obliging all the Persons nam'd by them to be of that Council before they Acted, to take an Oath to Observe the following Ordinances.

I. *Not to Increase the Standing Forces of the Kingdoms, above four thousand Soldiers in Garisons, and fifteen hundred Ginets.*

II. *That they shall not begin any War without the consent of the* Cortes.

III. *That they shall not Raise any Money upon the Subject, that has not been given by a* Cortes.

IV. *That they shall not Banish, nor put any to Death, before they have been Try'd and Condemn'd by their proper Judges.*

V. *That they shall not Pardon Murder.*

VI. *That they shall preserve all the present Alliances, and enter into no new ones, without the consent of the* Cortes.

The Persons Named, and Appointed by the *Cortes*, to be of this *Council*, were, *Don Fadrique*, Duke of *Bonaventum*, *Don Pedro*, Conde de *Trastamara*, *Don Peter*, Arch bishop

biſhop of *Toledo*, *Don John*, Archbiſhop of *Santiago*, *Don Goncalo Nunnes*, Maſter of *Calatrava*, *Peter Lopez d' Ayala*, Alchald of the City of *Toledo*, *Alvar Perez Oſſorio*, *Rui Ponce de Leon*, *Peter Suarez*, *Aldelantadi of Leon*, *and Aſturias*, *Garci Goncales* Mariſcall. For the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, *Garci Raiz*, *Sancho Garcia de Medina*, and *Ruy Sanchez*.

For the Kingdom of *Toledo*, *Perafan de Ribera*, *and John Gaiton*.

For the Kingdom of *Leon*, *Alfonſo Fernandez*, and *Rodrigo de Eſparriegos*, and *John Alvarez Maldonada*.

For the Kingdom of *Andulacia*, *Fernan Goncales*, and *Lope Rodriquez*.

For the Kigdom of *Murcia* and *Jaen*, *John Sanchez de Ayala*, and *John Pelais de Burcio*.

For *Eſtramadura*, *Fernan Sanchez de Vervis*, and *Alfonſo Goncalez*.

This Council conſiſted of Ten Nobles, and Fourteen Commoners, who were Procurators in this *Cortes*. And to make this Charge the eaſier, one half of each were Ordered, untill the King was of Age, to attend on him one ſix Months in the Year, and the other half, the other ſix Months.

The Regency being thus ſetled, the King came to the *Cortes*, and having thank'd them for their Care and good Affection, he took the Following Oath.

I do

I do Promiſe and Swear, to Maintain, and to cauſe to be Maintained, to all the Nobles, Prelates, Churches, and Maſters of the Orders: And to all Cities, Towns, and Villages, all the ſame Priviledges, Grants, Franchiſes, Exemptions, Good uſages and Cuſtoms, which they enjoy'd in the Reigns of the King my Grandfather, and of the King my Father, and in the ſame manner.

A

A

VIEW

OF A

CORTES

Assembled by the same King at *TOLEDO*, in the Year 1406.

KING *Hen.* II. Intending to have a War with the *Morish King* of *Granada*; who, he said, had broke the Truce that was made betwixt them, in several particulars; would not begin it until he had advised about it with a *Cortes*; and having to that end, called a *Cortes*, to Meet at *Toledo*, on the 29*th* of *November*, in the Year 1406. It was Opened when it Met, by the following Speech, made by the Infante, *Don Fernando*, the King's Brother; the King, tho' then at *Toledo*, being so much Indispos'd, that he was not able to be present at it in person.

YOU, The Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, need not be told that my Lord the King is hindred by Sickness from coming to you in Person, as he intended; He has therefore Commanded me to acquaint you with the Reason of His having Called you together at this time, which is to let you know, that upon the King of Granada's *having broke the Truce, by having deny'd to Restore the Castle of* Ayamonte, *and to pay the Tribute that is due, he intends to begin a War upon that* Barbarian; *you are therefore desired to take this Matter into your Consideration, and if you shall judge this War to be Just, and for God's, His Majesty's, and His Kingdom's Honour and Service, to consult what Provisions and Forces will be necessary to carry it on with Vigour, and to Supply his Majesty with Money sufficient to defray all its Charges.*

To this Speech of the Infante's, the following Answer was return'd, in the Name of the whole *Cortes*, by the Bishop of *Siguenca.*

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, here assembled, having heard what your Highness has acquainted them with in the King's Name with very great satisfaction; do all supplicat

you

your Highness, as you are Lord of Lara, *and the Judge of all the Nobles, to let them, according to ancient Custom, first have your Opinion of this War, that having your judgment of its Justice, and Conveniency they may Consult together about what has been by you proposed to them in our Lord the King's Name, and may do whatsoever shall be judged to be most convenient.*

Upon which Address of the whole *Cortes*, the Infante, as Lord of *Lara*, declared, That he judged the War he had proposed to them to be so Just, and so much for God's, and His Majesty's Service, that he was ready to Serve in it with his whole Force, and Estate, and to be the foremost in all Toils and Dangers.

After this Declaration of the Infante's, the War was, after a short Consultation, Voted, to be both Just, and Holy, by the whole *Cortes*, and, which promised to Assist the King in it, to the utmost of their Power.

But though the *Cortes* was unanimous in voting the War, yet when they came to consider how great an Army and Fleet would be necessary to carry it on with vigor, they were so divided, that the King, that no more time might be lost, sent a Paper to them by Dr. *John Rodriquez.* one of the *Procurators*

of *Salamanca*; wherein was a List of the Forces and Provisions his Majesty judged to be necessary: Which were, ten thousand Lances, four thousand Ginets, and fifty thousand Foot, for the Land Army: And a Fleet of thirty Armed Gallies, and fifty Ships of War to guard the Streits, and Six heavy Canon, a hundred Shot of Powder, two Engines, twelve Battering Rams of Iron, a great number of Spades, twelve pair of Bellows, and six thousand Waggons.

The *Cortes* having very minutely computed the whole Charge of Maintaining such a Fleet and Army for six Months, and of all the other Provisions in the King's Paper, found it would amount to an Hundred Millions, and two Hundred Thousand *Maravedies*; which being judged by them to be a Sum much too great for the Subject to pay, they Ordered, that one third should be Raised upon the Subject, and that the other third should be taken out of the great Treasure that was in *Oviedo*, and the last third out of the yearly Revenues of the Crown. And a Bill having been Passed accordingly, and presented to the Throne,—the Infante told them, that the King expected to have the whole Charge of the Forces, and Provisions contain'd in the Paper he had caused to be laid before them, supply'd by the Subject; all that the

King

King could ſpare out of his own Treaſury and yearly Revenues, being to be employed in the Hiring, and Paying of the Foreign Troops, over and above thoſe mention'd in that Paper, which the King intended to make uſe of.

But the *Cortes* adhering ſtifly to their Bill, and which they ſaid, laid more on the Subjects than they were well able to bear, the King at laſt paſſed it; but at the ſame time deſired, that in caſe the Sum which they had given, ſhould be found not to be ſufficient, that they would impower him, without Aſſembling a *Cortes*, which would require time, to Raiſe Money upon the Subject, to ſupply that Deficiency. And tho' the giving the King ſuch a Power was fiercely oppoſed, by a great many of the Procurators, as a thing that ſtruck at the very Root of the Authority of a *Cortes*, it was carried by a Majority; and tho' it was Granted only for that year, yet that was enough to create ſuch a Preſident, as wou'd encourage their future Kings to deſire to have the ſame Power and to take it very ill if 'twere deny'd them; and by ſuch weak, or corrupt conceſſions as theſe, it was, that the *Spaniſh Corte's* came to loſe all their Authority.

The King, who by having taken from the Cities and great Towns the power of Chooſing their own Magiſtrates, and by ſe-

veral other Oppressions, had rendred himself very Odious; happning to die before the Members of the *Cortes* had left *Toledo*; they Caball'd together to lay aside his Son, who was but a Child, and to bestow the Crown on his Brother the Infante, *Don Ferdinand*, who had always been very Popular, But the Infante, when the Crown was offered to him in the name of most of the Nobles, and of all the Commons, by *Rui Lopez de Avila*, Constable of *Castile*, and who was one of the young King's Governors; he generously refused to accept of it, telling the Constable, and the Nobles that were with him, *That neither Covetousness, nor Ambition were strong enough in his Breast, to make him do so Barbarous and Inhumane a thing, as to Rob an Orphan, and who was his Nephew, of his Crown:* But the Constable, who would not be put off with this Answer, endeavoured to perswade the Infante by the following Speech, to change his mind.

THE

THE Constable's SPEECH.

SIR,

HAving humbly Supplicated You to accept of the Crown of Your Father, and Grandfather, and withal assured You, that this is so earnestly desired, not only by the Nobles, but by the Body of the People, that You need not fear meeting with any Opposition in it; We, who Scorn, either to Dissemble or Flatter, must now tell You farther, that as it is a Dishourable thing to obtain a Crown by Vile and Base Methods; so to refuse a Crown, when finding it self in Danger, it begs Your Protection, looks like Weakness, and Cowardice.

Do not the Nature and Origen of all Royal Powers sufficiently teach us, that Crowns, when Reason of State requires it, may Lawfully be taken from one, and given to another?

For in the beginning of the World Men lived scattered in the Fields as Wild Beasts do now, neither was there any such thing among them as Societies or Communities, only in particular Families, some respect was paid to those among them, who were in Age and Prudence superiour to the rest; but the Dangers People found themselves exposed to, of being Oppresst by others that were stronger, and the frequent

Quarrels which happened among themselves, and with Strangers, were the things that induced them to form themselves into Societies; and to choose one for their Head, who was by his known Valour and Prudence, able to Protect and Defend them against all others.

This was the beginning of Societies, and the Origin of all Royal Authority, which in those ancient times was not procured by Negotiations and Subornations, but by Temperance, Fortitude, and Integrity: neither did Royal Authority in those days descend by Inheritance from Father to Son, but it was still given by the consent of the People, who, when their Prince died, chose one from among themselves to Succeed him; for it was nothing but the exorbitant Power of Princes that first made Crowns hereditary, So, that they must descend to their Children, tho' never so unfit for them; and can any thing be more dangerous than to have the Arms, the Treasures, and Government of a People committed to one Blindfold, and for no other Reason, but because he was the Son of the deceased Prince, by which means, that which was due to Virtue and Merit only, comes to fall into the hands of one that has never given the Publick any Assurance of his being fit to Govern them. I shall not make use of remote Examples to confirm the truth of this to you.

Upon

Upon the Death of King Heny I. *was not his Elder Sister*, Donna Blanca, *who was Married into* France, *laid aside, and his younger Sister*, Donna Berenguela *Declar'd Queen? The Wisdom of which Action was made Illustrious, by the Sanctity, and perpetual Felicity of her Son*, Don Ferdinand? *was not the younger Son of* Don Alonso *the Wise, for the proofs he had given of his Valour, and good Conduct, preferred likewise to the Sons of his elder Brother*, Don Ferdinand? *But we need go no farther back than Your Highness's own Grand-father King* Henry, *who deprived his Brother, and his Daughters of the Crown, to which, had not this Action of Your Grand-father's been Lawful, our deceased King could have had no Title. And in* Portugal, *did not the Master of* Aviz *Seize on the Crown in the same manner? whether he did it Lawfully, or not, is none of our Business to inquire; but certain it is, he has kept it on his Head, against all the Power of* Castile: *And in* Aragon, *was not the Crown but the other day taken from the Daughter of King* John, *and given to her Uncle*, Don Martin, *tho he was then in* Sicily? *In a word, has it not been always held Just, for the Communities or People, when necessity required it, to alter any Constitution, tho' at first Established for the Publick good?*

Had

Had we pitch'd on a Stranger, or on one not Royally Descended, we might then have been blamed for doing such a thing; but who can reckon that we, in our present circumstances do amiss, in desiring to have a Prince of the Royal Family for our King, and of whose good Government we are so well assured?

Consider therefore how dishonourable a thing it will be for You to slight the universal Affection of this Nation, and to avoid the Trouble and Burden of a Crown, by denying Your Countrey Your Protection, at a time when it has so many difficulties to struggle withal, tho' it begs it of You with bended Knees: Grant us therefore but this Request, and we will not, because it is needless, charge you to Govern us with Your customary Prudence, and Temper.

This Speech, though it had its Policy backed with several Ancient Prophecies, and very fresh Visions of the Infante's being King of *Castile*; could not move him to accept of that Dignity: and so he dismiss'd the Constable, and the rest of the Nobles, with telling them, *that though he could not but thank them for their good Will, he was not able, in this Matter, to do them any Service, but only to promise, not to acquaint his Lord, the King, nor the Queen Mother with any such Proposition, having ever been made to him.*

And

And it was not long before this ſingular Virtue of the Infante's was Rewarded; for within ſix Years after, he was Choſen King of *Aragon*, and in leſs than an hundred years, the Crown of *Caſtile* came by Marriage to his Grand-ſon *Ferdinand*, and is to this day on the Head of his Poſterity.

FINIS.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE *Manuſcripts* and *Reliques*

Found in the Ruins of the Uninhabitable *Turpian Tower*, in the City of *Granada*, in the Year 1588: And in the Mountain called *Valparayſo*, near to that City, in the Year 1595.

Parturient Montes, naſcetur ridiculus Mus.

DON *Peter de Caſtro, y Quinnones*, Archbiſhop of *Granada*, having in the Year 1588, ordered an old Tower, which was ſome nuiſance to his Cathedral, to be taken down; the Workmen, in digging amongſt its ruins, lighted

lighted on a Leaden Box; and having opened it, instead of the Treasure of *Barbary* Gold, they expected, they found in it a large Sheet of Parchment, written on both sides, after a very uncouth fashion, and in it a piece of Linnen Cloth, about the bigness of half a Pocket-Hankerchief, and a small Bone.

The Workmen, not knowing what to make of such a Conjuring Sortment, for such it must have appeared to them, lodged it all in its Box again; and having carried it to their Master the Archbishop, he not skilling such things himself, or at least pretending that he did not, summoned all the Criticks and Antiquaries that City and Country afforded to try their skill upon it.

The Letters in the Manuscripts were alternatively black, and coloured, and the Words were all in Chequers, and so legible, that it was plain at first sight; that in one part of the Writing, the Words were all *Arabick*; and in another part all barbarous and ill spelt *Latine*; and in the third and greatest part, the Words were all *Spanish*, and the very same that is now spoken: a doughty Evidence of these Manuscripts fifteen hundred Years Antiquity.

But

But notwithſtanding the Criticks underſtood the ſignification of every Word in this Venerable Manuſcript, they could make no ſenſe of them as they lay; nor perhaps never would, had not its Author, who had been at ſo much dull pains, to make it myſterious, been ſo kind as to leave a Key in the Margin, to let the Age into it, that ſhould be ſo happy as to find it: Which was done by ſtill skipping over the next Word from the Top to the Bottom, and ſo back again: And though by thus hobling it over, the Criticks could make no very good ſenſe of it, yet they found its Author's meaning as well as they could have done had he placed his Words in their common Order.

At the top of the Parchment there were five ſmall Croſſes within one large Croſs.

The firſt thing in the Writing was, A Title in *Arabick*, declaring, That therein was contained, *A Prophecy of St.* John the Evangeliſt, *concerning the End of the World.*

The next thing was a *Narrative*, declaring how St. *Cecilius* came by that Prophecy, and the Linnen Cloth, and the Bone that were in it.

The Third thing was a Commentary of of *St. Cecilius*'s upon that Prophecy.

And the laſt was a Relation of one Father *Patrick*, by whom this Treaſure was hid in the *Apoſtle's* Days.

The

The PROPHECY of S. *John the Evangeliſt*, concerning the Conſummation of the World, in the ſame Words as it is in the Parchment.

LA 'edad de la lux, ya commencada por el Maeſtro, y con ſu paſſion redimida con dolor del cuerpo: y los prophetas paſſados; quo alumbrados de la tercera perſona eſperaran ſu venida.

Del mundo el acabamiento quiero contar: porboca deſte Maeſtro, en la miſericordia preferido: alos ſeys ſiglos cumplidos de ſu adveni-mento por peccados graves el en mundo, q' cometidos ſerantinieblas, ſe levantaran muy eſcuras, en las orientales partes y a los occidentales ſe oſtenderan por miniſtros furioſſos, q' en ellas ſeran criados; com q' la lux de nueſtro ſol ſe eclipſera; y el templo del Maeſtro y ſu fe', graves perſecuciones padeceran: y los quinze ſiglos cumplidos por los pertinaces coracones endurice-dos, ſegundas tinieblas ſe levantaran en las partes de aquilon y d ellas un dragon ſaldra, que por ſu boca, arroiara ſimiente; que ſembrada la fee dividira en ſetas y con la otra iuntada el mundo occuparan, de las occidentales par-

tes

tes ſaldran los tres enemigos, ſu malicia aumentandoy por ſu Maeſtro la ſenſuali dad traeran y con lepra nunca viſta el mundo, ſe nilicionara la lux en parte diminuta de la tierra ſe retirara adonde con naufragios ſuſtentada ſeran en el abrigo de la columa de piedra, con eſtas ſenales prodigioſſos y otras que el Cielo woſtrara el genere humano ſera amenazado y en eſpecial el ſacerdocio y annunciado el Antichriſto, que ſera brebe ſu venida con que eſta prophecia ſe cumplira, y el iuyzo final ſe acercara, quando ſe manifeſtara al mundo, eſta verdad, verdad, verdad, cumplida, del medio dia ſaldra el iuez de la verdad, quando le plazera.

This Prophecy *rendred into* Engliſh.

THE Age of the Light now begun, by the Maſter, and with his Paſſion redeemed with the pain of his Body: And the paſt Prophets who being enlightned by the Third Perſon, waited for his coming: I having been preferred in Mercy, will by the Mouth of this Maſter give an Account of the End of the World. Six Ages being accompliſhed from his coming on account of the grievous Sins of the World, which being committed, will be Darkneſs, and very great Darkneſs will ariſe in the *Eaſtern* parts, and which will extend it ſelf to the *Weſt* by the furious Miniſters that are bred therein;

with which the light of the Sun will be eclipſed, and the Temple of the Maſter and his Faith will ſuffer grievous perſecutions.

And fifteen Ages being accompliſhed thorough obſtinate and obdurate Hearts, a ſecond Darkneſs will ariſe in the *Northern* Parts, out of which will come forth a Dragon, who will throw Seed out of his Mouth, which being ſown, will divide the Faith into Sects, and which being joined with the other, will occupy the World. From the Weſtern parts three Enemies will come forth, who having Senſuality for their Maſter, and increaſing in their Malice, will infect the World with ſuch a Leproſy as was never ſeen before; and the Light being much diminiſhed will retire, but will in its Shipwracks be ſupported, by being under the protection *of the Pillar of its Stone.*

With theſe prodigious Signs, and others which Heaven will ſhew, Mankind will be threatned, and particularly the Prieſthood: And Antichriſt, whoſe coming is at hand, being manifeſted, this Prophecy will be accompliſhed, and the Final Judgment will draw near: and when this Truth, Truth, Truth ſhall be manifeſted to the World, and accompliſhed, the Judge of the Truth ſhall, when he pleaſeth, come from the *South.*

The

The NARRATIVE.

ST. Cecilius *to partake of the Merits which are purchased by the visiting of Holy Places, santered to* Jerusalem, *and as he was returning home, having taken* Athens *in his way, he professed* Theology *there, according to the* Greek *Method; but having been so unhappy as to lose his Sight in the Voyage, he continued stone blind until he had visited* Dionysius *the* Areopagite, *who was at that time Bishop of* Athens; *and who having confessed St.* Cecilius, *and given him the Body of* Christ, *rubbed his Eyes as soon as* Mass *was said, with the Hankerchief wherewith the Blessed Virgin had wiped off the Tears mingled with Blood, which were shed by her, when she was present at her Son's Passion.*

Dionysius *having helped St.* Cecilius *thus to Eyes, shewed him a Prophecy written in* Hebrew *by St.* John the Evangelist, *and which had been rendred by him into* Greek.

Concerning the Consummation of the World, and a Bone *of the First Martyr St.* Stephen: *St.* Cecilius *having by strong importunity obtained a Copy of this Prophecy, he translated it into* Spanish, *and writ a Commentary upon it in* Arabick; *which was his Mother Tongue: He obtained likewise one half the* Handkerchief

which had cured him of his Blindneſs; and the Bone of the Firſt Martyr St. Stephen; *all which Reliques he laid together to be preſerved until God for the Inſtruction of Princes ſhould be pleaſed to diſcover them to the World.*

The next thing is St. *Cecilius*'s Commentary in *Arabick*, which the Inventors have not thought fit to publiſh, in that, or in any other Language; and all they tell us out of it, is, That by an Age is meant an hundred Years; ſo that the Falſe Prophet was not to riſe in the *Eaſt* till Six hundred Years; nor the Diabolical Dragon to appear in the *North* till fifteen hundred Years after *Chriſt*'s Birth; but ſaith nothing of the three Enemies in the *Weſt*, nor of the *Pillar of its Stone*: which are the two things in the Prophecy, that wanted a Commentary moſt. But as it is plain, that by the Falſe Prophet in the *Eaſt*, *Mahomet* is meant; and by the *Dragon* in the *North*, Dr. *Luther*; ſo I do much ſuſpect, that Dr. *Egidio*, and Dr. *Conſtantino*, and Dr. *Cazala*, who were all burnt in *Spain* for being Proteſtants, in the beginning of the Reign of *Philip* the IId, are the perſons meant by the Three Enemies in the *Weſt*: And as for the *Pillar of Stone*, though St. *Cecilius* ſaith nothing of it in his Commentary, Dr. *Madera*, the Publiſher and Champion of theſe Antiquities, ſaith, That *Spain* is meant by it, and that upon no leſs Authority, than that

that of the Prophet *Eſaias*; who ſpeaking of the *Spaniards* in the 24*th Chapter* of his Prophecy, calls them, *Habitatores Petræ.*

St. *Cecilius* cloſeth his Commentary with the firſt ſeven *Verſes* of *St. John*'s Goſpel, in *Arabick*, as they are ſung in the *Roman Church*, and with this Subſcription:

Cecilius *Biſhop of* Granada

The Laſt thing in this Immortal Vellum, is, A Relation in *Latin*, not very claſſical, tho writ in *Nero's* days, by one Father *Patrick* a Prieſt.

Father *Patrick*'s Relation.

Relatio Patricii Sacerdotis, ſervus Dei: Cecilius Epiſcopus granatenſis, cum in Iberia eſſet, & cum videret dierum ſuorum finem, occulte mihi dixit, ſe habere pro certo ſuum martyrium & apropinquare, & utpote qui ille qui in eo amavit, theſaurum ſuarum reliquiarum mihi commendavit, & me admonuit, ut occulte haberem, & in loco locarem, & ut in potentiam Maurorum nunquam veniret, affirmans eſſe theſaurum ſalutis atq; ſcientiæ certæ & plurimum laboraſſe, & iter Feciſſe terra mariq;, & de-

here esse in occulto loco: donec Deus velit illum manifestare, & ego melius quum intellexi, in eo loco clausi ubi jacet, deum rogans ut eum observet reliquiæ quæ hic jacent sunt profeciæ divi Joannis Evangelistæ, medius pannus quo Virgo *Maria absterfit ab oculis lacrimas in passione sui filii sacrati.*

Os divi Stevani primi martyris

Deo gratias.

This Relation turned into English.

"THE Relation of *Patrick* a Priest "the Servant of God: *Cecilius* Bi "shop of *Granada*, being in *Iberia*, and see "ing the end of his days approaching, told "me in private, That he knew for certain "that he should speedily suffer Martyrdom "and whereas he loved me in God, he re "commended to me the Treasure of his Re "liques, and charged me to keep it secret "and to lodge it in a secret place, that it "might never fall into the hands of the "*Moors*; affirming it to be a Treasure of "Health and certain Knowledge, and that "he had been at great pains, and travelled "both by Sea and Land, and that it ought "to be kept in a secret place, until God shall

"be

"be pleaſed to bring it to light: I to the "beſt of my knowledge hid it in this place, "beſeeching God to keep it: The Reliques "which lie here are, *The Prophecys of St.* John "the Evangeliſt, *concerning the End of the* "*World*; Half of the Cloth wherewith the "Virgin *Mary* wiped the Tears from her "Eyes, ſhed by her at the Paſſion of her "Holy Son; and a Bone of St. *Stephen* the "firſt Martyr. Thanks be to God.

Thus far Father *Patrick*, a Proper Name enough for the Relator of ſuch a blind Story, and in truth for the Contriver of this whole Farce: which has not ſo many Sentences as it has Blunders in it, with clear Evidences of its being ſuppoſititious.

But as Blind as it is, the diſcovery of the *Indies* was not entertained in *Spain* with greater joy than this Diſcovery was; but chiefly in the City and Kingdom of *Granada*; which having been recovered out of the hands of the *Moors* long after all the other *Spaniſh* Provinces, had but a poor ſtock of Reliques; the Treaſures of all others, the *Spaniſh* Cities and Towns do value themſelves the moſt upon: A Famous Miracle-working Relique being of more advantage to any place that has it, than twenty Fairs.

The *Galicians*, whoſe *true Legend* of St. *James* of *Compoſtella*, ſtood in great need of ſome ancient Evidence, rejoiced extremely at its having received ſo Authentick a Confirmation.

One good Effect however, tho it was not miraculous, this Diſcovery had; which was, that it furniſhed the *Spaniards* with ſomething elſe to think and talk of, beſides the loſs of their great Armado, which happened the ſame Year.

This Invention having ſucceeded ſo well, gave encouragement to new Adventures; and a Report having been ſpread abroad, *That a prodigious Treaſure of Gold and Jewels had been hid by the* Moors *in a Mountain called* Valparaſo, about half a Mile from the City of *Granada*; the people, after having received the beſt Directions, which were to be had from Cunning Men, went to work in ſome of its Caverns, which it was very full of; where they had not dug long, before they met with a *Plate of Lead*, with the following Inſcription upon it:

Corpus uſtum Divi Meſitonis Martiris, paſus eſt, ſub Neronis Imperatoris potentatu.

The burnt Body of St. *Meſiton*, who ſuffered under the Power of *Nero*.

This

This Relique having been carried to the Archbiſhop, he was ſo tranſported with joy, that he reſolved to ſpare for no Coſt, nor Pains, to find the Aſhes of this burnt Martyr; and having ſet all hands to work, the teeming Mountain was on the 28th of *March*, 1595 delivered of a ſecond *Plate*, with the following Inſcription upon it.

Anno ſecundo Neronis *Imperii*, Marci *Calendis paſus fuit Martirium in hoc loco illupalitano electus ad hunc effectum, ſanctus* Hiſcius *Apoſtoli* Jacobi *decipus cum ſuis Diſcipulis* Turillo, Panuncio, Marenio, Centulio, *per medium ignem in quo vivi ambuſti fuerunt eternam vitam petentibus tranſiere, ut lapides in calcem converſi fuerint; quorum pulvens in hujus ſacri montis cavernis jacent, qui ut ratio poſtulat in eorum memoriam veneretur.*

"In the ſecond year of *Nero's* Empire "on the Kalends of *March*, St. *Hiſcius* a "Diſciple of the Apoſtle St. *James* ſuffered "Martyrdome in this place of *Illupulis*, "which was choſen for that purpoſe, with "his Diſciples *Turillus*, *Panuncius*, *Maranus*, and *Centulius*, paſſing thorough the "midſt of the Fire wherein they were "burnt alive, to Life eternal, and were "burnt as Stones are to Lime: whoſe Duſt "is lodged in the Caverns of this holy

"Moun-

"Mountain; which as Reaſon requires, "ought to be venerated in Memory of "them.

On the 10th of *April* of the ſame Year, the Workmen as they were digging after this great Vein of Aſhes, did light on a third Plate of the ſame Mettal, with the following Inſcription upon it.

Anno ſecundo Neronis *Imperii Kalendis* Aprilis *paſus eſt Martirium in hoc loco illupilito*, Theſiphon *dictus priuſquam converteretur* Abenathar, *divi* Jacobi *Apoſtoli diſcipulus, vir literis & ſanctitate præditus, plumbi tabulis exſcripſit librum illum*, fundamentum Eccleſiæ appellatum, & *ſimul paſi ſunt ſui diſcipuli, dius* Maximinus, Luparius, *quorum pulvis & liber ſunt cum pulveribus divorum Martyrum in hujus ſacri mont. cavernis in eorum memoriam veneretur.*

"In the ſecond Year of *Nero*'s Empire, on "the Firſt of *April*, St. *Theſiphon*, who be- "fore he was converted, was named *Abena-* "*ther*, ſuffered Martyrdom in this Place of "*Illupulis*, he was a Diſciple of the Apoſtle "St. *James*, and was endowed with Learning "and Sanctity; he tranſcribed into Tables "of Lead, the Book called, *The Foundation* "*of the Church*; and with him ſuffered "*Maximinus* and *Luparius*: His Duſt and

"Book

"Book with the Dust of divers Martyrs are "in the Caverns of this holy Mountain, "and let them be reverenced in their Me-"mory.

After so many Notices of so great a treasure of Martyr's Ashes; the Workmen at last came to a large Cavern, which looked like a Prison or Dungeon, wherein they met with a great many Bones; and with lumps of Earth of a whitish Colour, and which were judged to be the Ashes of the Martyrs; who in one of the Plates were said to have been burnt like Stones into Lime: This Dungeon supply'd the Church of *Granada*, which before had few or no Reliques, with more ancient sacred Bones and Ashes, than all the Churches in *Spain* had besides; but as Covetousness has no Bounds, they went on still with their work, and on the 21th of *April* they met with a leaden Box wherein was a Book with this Title —— *Liber Fundamenti Ecclesiæ Salomonis characteribus scriptus*, A Book of the Foundation of the Church written in the Characters of *Salomon*.

Upon so ancient a Manuscript and upon so great a Subject, not having been published all this while; and nothing having been ever quoted out of it, one cannot but think that either the *Spanish* Criticks, who have it in their keeping, do not know how to deci-

decipher *Salomon*'s Characters, or that there is nothing in this Book, that favours the Papal Supremacy in the Church.

But tho' this ancient Manuſcript has never been once quoted, one of the ſame Antiquity, and found at the ſame time and in the ſame place, has been frequently; and to decide a Controverſy which the Pope himſelf dare not mount his infallible Chair to determine, tho' ſollicited to do it by a ſplendid Embaſſy ſent to him by the King of *Spain* ſolely for that Purpoſe.

This Manuſcript is in *Arabick*, and was writ by St. *Cecilius*: its Title is ——
De Domo Gloriæ & Domo Tormenti.
Of the Houſe of Glory, and the Houſe of Torment.

In this Book, after divers high Encomiums of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, is found the following Definition made by all the Apoſtles of her Immaculate Conception.

Illa Virgo Maria, illa ſancta, illa electa, a primo originarioq; peccato præſervata fuit; atq; hæc veritas Apoſtolorum Concilium eſt; quam qui negaverit, maledictus, & excommunicatus erit, & ſalutem non conſequetur, ſed in æternum damnabitur.

She

"She the Virgin *Mary*, She the Holy, "She the Elect, was preſerved from the "firſt and original Sin, and was free from "all Guilt; this Truth is a Council of the "Apoſtles, and let who will deny it, he is "accurſed, excommunicated, and ſhall not "acquire Salvation, but ſhall be damned "for ever.

It was an unhappy thing for theſe Manuſcripts and Reliques that this Apoſtolical Definition was found in their Company, for had it not been for this Definition, their Truth and Authority had never been queſtioned by any Perſon in *Spain*: And the *Dominicans*, who, where they dare do it, do now call them late and groſs Impoſtures, would have been their boldeſt Champions.

The Vein of Manuſcripts holds out ſtill; and on the 25th of *April* a Box covered with thick Lead was found, and in it a Book written on leaden Plates, with the following Title.

Liber de Eſſentia Dei, quem Divus Thiſiphon *Apoſtoli* Jacobi *diſcipulus in ſua naturali lingua Arabica* Salomoni *characteribus ſcripſit: & alium, fundamentum Eccleſiæ appellatum, qui in hujus ſacri Montis Cavernis jacet.*

Deus

Deus a Nerone *Imperatore hos duos liberet libros, impoſuit finem hic ſuis operibus ſcribens miracula & vitæ inte-itatem ſui magiſtri-vi in hujus ſacri montis ea eſt.*

" A Book of the Eſſence of God, which " divine *Thiſiphon* a Diſciple of *James* the A- " poſtle, writ in his own natural Tongue " which was *Arabick* in *Salomon*'s Chara- " cters, and another called *The Foundation* " *of the Church*, which is in the Caverns of " this holy Mountain.

God deliver theſe two Books from *Nero* the Emperor ; he put an end to his Works, writing the Miracles —— of his Maſter —— who is in the —— Caverns of this holy Mountain.

I do ſuſpect that the Storm the pretending to have St. *James*'s Body in their *Granada* Mountain, would have brought upon all theſe new found Reliques from *Compoſtella*, and all the other quarters of *Spain*, was the thing that made all the *Chaſmes* at the end of this Writing ; for it is pretty plain from the remaining pieces of words, that when they were entire, they ſaid, that the Body of *Thiſiphon*'s Maſter who was St. *James* the Apoſtle, was buried in the Caverns of this holy Mountain. So that had not the Founders of theſe Manuſcripts and Reliques, had more Judgement than

the

the Forgers of them, their Credit had been ruined for ever in *Spain* by this ſingle Indiſcretion.

For tho' ſome poor Churches rather than go to Law, and ſpend a great deal of Money at *Rome*, have ſuffered ſuch differences to be compoſed by the common Miracle of multiplying the ſame individual Body ſo, that they all had it; *Compoſtella* is both too rich, and has its Title to St. *James*'s Body, too ſtrongly guarded by a numerous Order of valiant Knights, to have ſtoop'd to ſo common an Expedient.

And this they who had the Examination of theſe Manuſcripts, when they were firſt found, knew very well, and ſo did very diſcreetly obliterate that bold Pretence, contenting themſelves with what they knew *Compoſtella* would be willing to allow them, that is, the Bones and Aſhes of that Apoſtles Diſciples; and which had they pretended no more, would never have been allowed them.

I cannot underſtand how the Church would have ſuffered much had this Book with the Title *of its Foundation*, and its *Companion*, fallen into *Nero*'s hands, and had been deſtroy'd by him, againſt which he that hid them prays, as if it would have been the greateſt loſs the Church could have ſuſtained.

On

On the 30th of *April* the Basket was pinned with a Plate of Lead: with the following Inſcription upon it.

Anno ſecundo Neronis *Imp. Kalendis Februarii paſus eſt Martirium in hoc* ——— *tano divus* Cecilius *ſancti* Jacobi *diſcipulus, vir literis linguis & ſanctitate præditus, Prophetias divi* Joannis *commentavit, quæ ſunt poſitæ cum aliis reliquiis in ſublimi parte inhabitabilis turris Turpiane, ſicut dixerunt mihi ſui diſcipuli dius Setentrius, & Patricius, qui cum illo paci ſunt quorum pulveres jacent in unius ſacri montis cavernis in quorum memoriam veneretur.*

"In the ſecond Year of the Empire o
" *Nero* on the Kalends of *February*, St
" *Cecilius* a Diſciple of St. *James* ſufferec
" Martyrdom in this Place of *Ilipulis*, a
" Man endowed with Letters, Tongues
" and Holineſs; he Commentaried all the
" Prophecy of St. *John* the Apoſtle, which
" with other Reliques are lodged in the
" high part of the uninhabitable *Turpian*
" Tower, as I was told by his Diſciples
" St. *Setentrius* and *Patrick*, who ſufferec
" with him, and whoſe Duſts do lye in the
" Caverns of a certain Mountain, which
" in Memory of them ought to be vene-
" rated.

This

This Plate helps us to the Name of the Tower wherein the firſt Reliques were found; and tells us farther, that it was then uninhabitable; but it does not tell what made it to be ſo, neither is it eaſie to gueſs; ſince it could not well have been ruinous 1500 Years before it was taken down; and haunted it could not be, having ſo ſacred a Treaſure lodged in it.

This Collection of Manuſcripts having been unanimouſly judged to be genuine by all the Criticks and Antiquaries, in Lead, and Parchment, as well as in Words Phraſes and Hiſtory; the Archbiſhop cauſed a *Te Deum* to be ſung with great Solemnity in his Cathedral, for the Invention of ſo ineſtimable a Treaſure, and which having been magnify'd by the Preachers as the greateſt Largeſs any City had ever received from Heaven; the Peoples Devotion for the Mountain which had been delivered of ſo bleſſed a Treaſure, was ſo great, that in a ſhort time there were above four hundred Croſſes erected upon it; neither would the People have reſted there, but would have had Altars likewiſe ſet up, and Maſſes ſaid upon them, had not their Zeal been reſtrained by the Archbiſhop, until the Mountain was judicially, and according to the Canonical Forms, declared to be holy Ground.

And to that end, the Archbiſhop ſent a full Narrative of the whole Matter to Pope *Clement* the VIII. from whom he received a ſpecial Commiſſion to call an Aſſembly to determine it. But before the meeting of that Aſſembly; the Dominicans, who ſhould thoſe Manuſcripts be judged genuine, were by the Apoſtles accurſed, excommunicated, and damned to the Pit of Hell, for denying the Immaculate Conception of the bleſſed Virgin; muſtered all their Forces, and made ſuch Objections againſt them, as one would think ſhould ſo far have ruined their Credit, that it was not poſſible for one of common Senſe; and much leſs for an Aſſembly of wiſe and learned Men, to have Judged them to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred Years ſtanding.

The firſt Objection was, That the Prophecy which was found in the Tower, was in true modern *Spaniſh*; a Language that was no where in the World for ſome hundreds of Years, after *Nero*'s Death.

The ſecond Objection was, That St. *Cecilius* is called in them Biſhop of *Granada* whereas there was no ſuch Biſhoprick, nor no ſuch City in a great many hundred years after *Nero*'s Death; *Granada* having been built, and named ſo by the *Moors* 700 Years after *Nero*'s Time, neither was it ever

ever a Bishoprick till it was made so by *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, above 1400 Years after *Nero*.

The third Objection was, That in the Writings the *Moors* are named as in *Spain*; so that the Writings were in danger of falling into their hands; whereas it was 700 Years after the Death of *Nero* before the *Moors* came into *Spain*.

The fourth was, That *Arabick* was a Language not known either in *Barbary* or in *Spain*, till above 500 Years after the Death of *Nero*.

The fifth was, That in the Apostles days nor a great many Years after, the Titles of *Divus*, and *Sanctus*, were not given to Christians; and especially whilst they were alive.

The sixth was, that the fourteen first Verses of the Gospel of St. *John* as they are sung in the *Roman* Offices, are in this Writing, which Gospel was not writ till several Years after *Nero*'s Death.

The seventh was, That St. *Stephen*'s Body was not found before the Reign of the Emperor *Honorius*, who was 300 Years after *Nero*.

The eighth was, That the Holy Ghost was not called the Third Person till after the Apostle's Days.

The ninth was, That ſuch a fantaſtical way of Writing, was late and unworthy of the Gravity of St. *Cecilius*.

The tenth was, That the whole had the Air of a Fraud in it very ſenſibly.

Theſe were the Objections which were made againſt the Writings found, in the uninhabitable *Turpian* Tower.

Neither were the Objections made againſt thoſe which were found in the Mountain leſs unanſwerable.

The firſt Objection was, That all Hiſtorians do agree, that there was no Perſecution in the ſecond Year of *Nero*.

The ſecond was, That it is certain, that *Illipula* was not near the Place, where *Granada* ſtands.

The third was, That the Mountain wherein theſe Reliques were found, having been the place where publick Malefactors were put to death and buried; there was Cauſe to believe that the Bones and Aſhes which had been found in them, were the Reliques of the publick Malefactors.

The fourth was, That the ancient Book called *Fundamentum Eccleſiæ*, was condemned a thouſand Years before, by Pope *Gelaſius* as ſpurious.

The fifth was, That the Word *Eſſentia*, as

as it is here uſed, was a Term lately deviſed by the Schoolmen.

The ſixth was, That St. *Hiſcius* having been called *Abenathar* before he was converted, and St. *Thiſiphon* having writ in *Arabick* and in the Characters of *Salomon*, has the Air of an idle Tale.

The laſt was, that the Words, the Phraſe, and the Spelling of the *Latine* in theſe Manuſcripts are ſo barbarous and falſe, that they muſt have been written a great many hundred Years after *Nero*'s Death.

To theſe Objections which were made in *Spain*, ſeveral others may be added.

1. That the whole of this blundering Impoſture, ſtands upon the Story of St. *James* the Apoſtle, having been in *Spain*, and having made a great many Diſciples there; which is as groſs a Fiction, as any in the *Roman* Legends; and was condemned as ſuch by an Archbiſhop of *Toledo* when it was firſt broached, which was a thouſand Years after the Apoſtles Days.

2. There are ſeveral Doctrines found in theſe Writings, which were not hatched till ſome hundreds of Years after the Death of the Apoſtles; as its being meritorious to viſit holy Places, Tranſubſtantiation, auricular Confeſſion, the immaculate Conception, &c.

Laſtly, none of the Perſons named in theſe Writings were ever heard of in a great many hundred Years after the Apoſtles Days; and ſome of them, as *Centurius*, *Luparius*, *Patrick*, &c. were never heard of before the time of this Diſcovery.

I ſhall give the Reader only a Taſte of the Anſwers returned by Dr. *Madera* to ſome of theſe Objections.

One Anſwer is, That the *Spaniſh* Language was the very ſame as it is now; not only in *Nero*'s Days, but before any *Roman* ever came into *Spain*.

Another is, That the City of *Granada* was in being, and was a Biſhoprick, and was called by that Name in the Apoſtles Days.

A third is, That *Arabick* was a Language uſed in *Spain* and *Barbary*, long before they were conquered by the *Arabs*,

And a fourth is, That St. *John*'s Goſpel was written before the ſecond Year of *Nero*, and that in that Year there was a great Perſecution.

All which are ſuch monſtrous Abſurdities, that one would not think it poſſible, for a Perſon of any knowledge in Antiquity, to affirm them to be Truths. And yet Dr. *Madera*, who was a very learned Man, does it, and with an Aſſurance which no Truths that are not undeniably atteſted can lay Claim to; only in his Preface where he ſpeaks

ſpeaks of the Diſpoſition of Mind, that is neceſſary to the paſſing of a true Judgement on ſuch ſacred Antiquities; he ſeems to have had ſome Misgivings about them, in exhorting all that would judge aright of ſuch Matters, not to ſuffer Thoughts to ariſe in their hearts againſt them; that is to ſay, they muſt not allow themſelves the liberty to think of any thing, that would ſhake their implicite Belief of them.

Now it is by this very courſe that all ſenſible *Roman Catholicks* are kept from diſcovering the groſs falſhood of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and of divers other Errors and pretended Facts, the vile Bondage of thought the *Roman Church* keeps her Sheep under, being her chief ſecurity.

But though they whoſe Minds ſtand thus affected to any thing, do not disbelieve it, becauſe they are reſolved not to ſuffer their Minds to do that, yet they cannot be ſaid to believe it, any farther, than a forced not diſbelieving, is believing.

And how acceptable ſuch a belief, if it deſerves that Name, even when its Objects happen to be true, can be to God, who requires a Reaſonable Service from his Reaſonable Creatures, I leave to any one to judge.

And as the Anſwers returned by the Champions of theſe Manuſcripts and Reliques to the Objections which had been

made againſt them, are monſtrouſly abſurd, ſo their Arguments to prove them to be genuine, are of the ſame Stamp.

One of their *Arguments* is, That theſe Manuſcripts and Reliques have as ſtrong Evidences of their being true, as thoſe had which were found much after the ſame manner at *Corduba*, or as thoſe of St. *Placidius*, found in *Sicily*.

I believe this may be true; and if it would have given any ſtrength to their *Argument*, they might juſtly have added, and as of thoſe of *Compoſtella*, and of the Itinerant Chappel of *Loretto*, and as of an hundred more, which are all equally kept in credit, by pure dint of Forehead, or by bondage of Thought.

Their *2d Argument* is, That if theſe Writings were ſuppoſititious, they muſt have bin forged either by a *Mahometan*, an *Heretick*, or a *Catholick*: The two firſt, as great Friends as they are to Forgeries of this nature, would not forge Writings which ſhould condemn their own Sects; & as for a *Catholick*, he is not capable of ſo ill a thing as the counterfeiting of Writings and putting Saints Names to them.

It will eaſily be granted, that the *Mahometan* and *Heretick* had no hand in theſe Writings; but that a *Roman Catholick* is not capable of doing ſuch things, and of reckoning it to be meritorious, cannot be granted ſo eaſily; ſuch Pious Frauds as theſe

theſe having never been uſed ſo much by all the Sects of Religion put together, or with ſo good ſucceſs as by the *Roman* Church and her Members, for ſome hundreds of Years.

The 3d. *Argument* is, That they have proved themſelves Genuine by the vaſt Multitude of Miracles, which have bin wrought by them, ſince they were diſcovered.

What ſtrange Infidels does this Argument make the *Dominicans*, who live in *Granada*, to be, who will not be convinced by ſo many Miracles wrought under their Noſes? but ſince in Diſputes among themſelves, when innumerable Miracles are, by both ſides affirmed to have been wrought in favour of their contrary Cauſes; that pretence is by both rejected with Scorn and Contempt. Why may not ſuch a pretence in this Caſe, deſerve to be treated in the ſame manner? however, there is one thing, would the Patrons of theſe Reliques be perſwaded to, that would help them to more Credit in the World, than their giving out, that they have wrought a thouſand Miracles in *Granada*, and that is, if they cannot ſpare them all, to ſend one of 'em to work but one ſingle Miracle on the Exchange of *London*, or of *Amſterdam*; for what ever they may think, it is no ſmall

pre-

prejudice to the Reputation of the innumerable Miracles, which are Confidently ſaid to be wrought daily by the Reliques in the *Roman* Church, in Confirmation of their own Truth, and of ſeveral of that Churches Doctrines, that it is their conſtant ill Fate, to be wrought no where, but among thoſe who do not want their Teſtimony; but never among thoſe that do.

But their Laſt, and in *Spain*, unanſwerable Argument, is the following ſolemn, and unanimous Deciſion made in their Favour, by the Archbiſhop of *Granada*, in a full Aſſembly of *Eccleſiaſticks* and *Laicks*, called together for that purpoſe.

In the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

'WE, *Don Peter de Caſtro*, by the Grace 'of God, and the Holy Apoſtolick 'See, Archbiſhop of *Granada*, and of his Ma-'jeſty's Council, with the Aſſent of the 'the moſt Reverend Prelates, *Don John de 'Fonſeca*, Biſhop of *Guadis*, and of his Ma-'jeſty's Council, our Co-Provincial and 'Suffragan, and *Don Sebaſtian Quintero*, 'Biſhop of *Galipoli*, and *Don Alfonſo de Men-'doca*, Abbot of *Alcala la real*.

'Having Examined all the Reliques 'which were found at the taking down of a moſt

'moſt ancient Tower in this our Church, 'in the Year, 1588; as alſo all thoſe which 'were found in the Mountain near this Ci- 'ty, called *Valparayſo*, in the Year, 1595. 'and the Knowledge and Approbation of 'ſuch things belonging to us by com- 'mon Right, and by the Council of *Trent*, 'as alſo by a Special Commiſſion from our 'Moſt Holy Father, *Clement* VIII. We 'have ſeen this Proceſs, and all the Infor- 'mations, Confirmations, and Diligences 'which are made therein; and having con- 'ſulted and deliberated with moſt Learned, 'and Pious Men, as well Divines, as of all 'other Faculties, whom we have Aſſembled 'and having done every thing elſe that was 'neceſſary, or that ſeemed to be conve- 'nient.

'We being all Unanimous, do with one 'Mind and Senſe, declare what we ought; 'and we do Declare, Define and Pronounce 'the ſaid Reliques contain'd in this Proceſs, 'to wit, The half of the Cloath where- 'with our Lady, the Glorious Virgin *Mary* 'wiped off her Tears, ſhed at the Paſſion of 'her Son, our Redeemer; and the Bone of 'St. *Stephen*, the firſt Martyr, to be, and 'they truly are, half the Hankerchief of our 'Lady, and the Bone of the firſt Martyr, 'St. *Stephen*; and to have been hid, ſhut up, 'and kept within the Wall of a moſt an-

cient

'cient Tower, which ſtood in the place 'whereon the Chief Church of this City 'was Built: having been put ino a Leaden 'Box, glewed within and without, in which 'Box there was likewiſe a Relation of one '*Patrick* a Prieſt, written in very ancient 'Parchment; which declares, that the ſaid 'Reliques were there, and that they had 'been hid by the Command of St. *Cecilius*, 'all which was found in the ſaid Leaden 'Box in the ſaid Year, 1588. on the 19th. 'of *March*, being *Saturday*, the day of 'St. *Joſeph*, in the taking down, and De-'moliſhing the ſaid Tower.

'And we do likewiſe Declare, Define, 'and Pronounce, the Bones, Aſhes, Duſt, 'and the white Clods, which in the Year, '1595, were found within the Caverns of 'the ſaid Mountain, called *Valparayſo*, to be 'the true Reliques of the Holy Martyrs, 'who are now injoying God, and are Reign-'ing with him in Heaven; to wit, of the 'Holy Martyrs, St. *Cecilius*, and St. *Hiſ-'cius*, St. *Theſiphon*, the Diſciples of the 'Bleſſed Apoſtle, St. *James* of *Zebedee*; as 'alſo of St. *Septentrio*, and of *Patrick*, the 'Diſciples of St. *Cecilius*, and of St. *Tu-'rillus*, *Panuncius*, *Maranius*, *Centulius*, the 'Diſciples of St. *Hiſcius*, and of St. *Maxi-'minus* and *Luparius*, the Diſciples of 'St. *Theſiphon*, as alſo of *Meſiton*, and that

'all

'all the ſaid Saints, *Cecilius*, *Hiſcius*, and '*Theſiphon*, and all their ſaid Diſciples, and 'St. *Meſiton*, did Suffer Martyrdom, and 'were all Burnt alive within the Caves and 'Caverns of the ſaid Mountains, for Jeſus 'Chriſt, our Redeemer, and for His Holy 'Catholick Faith, and for Preaching, and 'Publiſhing of the Holy Goſpel, in the 'Second Year of the Empire of *Nero*.

'St. *Cecilius* and his Diſciples on the firſt 'of *February*; St. *Hiſcius* and his Diſciples 'on the firſt of *March*, having been burnt 'as Stones turned into Lime: And St. *The-* '*ſiphon* and his Diſciples on the firſt of *April* 'as is declared and ſhewed by four Plates 'of moſt ancient Lead, written in the *La-* '*tine* Tongue, in moſt ancient Characters; 'and ſome other Inſtruments of moſt anci- 'ent Lead; all which were incloſed and hid 'within the ſaid Caverns until now, that 'we found them in the ſaid Year 95; all 'which is manifeſt, and is reſolved and 'confirmed by this Proceſs, God having al- 'ſo demonſtrated and proved the ſame by 'many Miracles.

'In conſequence whereof, we do declare, 'That the ſaid Reliques ought to be receiv'd, 'honoured, venerated, and adored, with 'due honour and worſhip, as the true Re- 'liques of our Lady; and of the ſaid Mar- 'tyrs, who do reign with our Lord God;

'according

'according as the *Roman Catholick* Church 'uſeth to venerate the Reliques of Saints: 'And that they ought to be publickly ſhew'd 'to Chriſtian people, and to all the Faithful 'for that purpoſe, that all may invocate 'em.

And we with all theſe here Aſſembled, do ſo receive and venerate them, and we do command, that they be all put in a ſafe place, and which ſhall be judged by Us, or Our Succeſſors to be moſt Decent.

'And we do farther declare, the ſaid place, 'and Mountain of *Valparayſo*, in whoſe Ca-'verns all the ſaid Saints ſuffer'd Martyr-'dom, to be a holy and ſacred place, and 'which ought to be honoured and venera-'ted, as the ſaid Plates do command, in me-'mory of the ſaid Saints, who ſuffer'd Mar-'tyrdom in them; and to enjoy all the Pre-'rogatives, which are by Common Right, 'and by the Canons given to ſuch ſacred 'places; and we do command this to be ob-'ſerved; and by this our Senteuce we do ſo 'pronounce and command, and do ſign it with 'our Name, and ſeal it with our Hanging Seal.

Peter de Caſtro *Joannes Epiſcop.*
Archiep. Granat. *Guadix.*
S. Epiſcopus Galipol. *Alphonſus Abbas*
Subſcripſi. *Subſcripſi.*

'We the Lords of the Royal Audience, and 'Chancery of his Majeſty reſiding in this Ci-

'ty

'ty, and who having been named by his Lord-'ſhip the Lord Archbiſhop, are here preſent, 'do ſubſcribe and ſign it: Licentiate *Peter* 'Mallem de Rueda, *Dr. Antony Burrab*, *Dr. An-*'tony Corriero, *Li. Don Ochao de Lugando*, 'Li. Don John de Cuniga, *Li. Don Baltaſar* 'de Lovencana, *Don John de St. Vincente*, *Li* 'Don Francis de Teiada, y Mendoca; *Li. Grey-*'ory Lopez Madera.

'For the moſt Illuſtrious Archbiſhop of 'Santiago *Li. Don John de St. Clemente*, Arch-'deacon of *Neodes*; *Li Alonſo Lopez* Canon: 'For the Dean and Chapter of the ſaid Me-'tropolitan Church of St. *Jago*, Dr. *Luke A-*'lonſo de Caſtro, Archdeacon of *Voux*, and 'Canon: For the Dean and Chapter of the 'Holy Church of *Corduba*, *Don Rodrigo ve-*'larde de Morillon: *Dr. Diego Lopez de Fro-*'meſta, *John de Riaca de Caneto*, *Dr. Alvare* 'de Cardenas: For the Dean and Chapter of 'the Holy Church of *Guadix*, *Dr. Don James* 'de Sancta Cruz. *Saareda Chantor Li. Chriſto-*'pher Sanchez de Soto doctoral Canon: For his 'Lordſhip and the Dean and Chapter of the 'Metropolitan Church of *Granada*, were 'preſent Dr. *Don Peter Guerrero* Treaſurer; 'Li Don Peter de Molina, Doctoral Canon 'and Profeſſor of Canon Law, and Apoſto-'lical Inquiſitor: *Li. Don George de Texeri-*'na Dean: Dr. *Don Lewis de Caſtella*, Arch-'deacon: Dr. *Don Lewis de Raya* Schoolma-

'ſter;

'ſter: Dr. *Don John de la Canal Prior:* 'Dr. *Don Francis Pacleco*, Canon and Pro-'feſſor of the Scripture: *Dr. Don Goncalo* 'Sanchez Luzeno Magiſtrall, Canon and Pro-'feſſor of Divinity: *Li. Juſtin Antolinez de* 'Burgos, Proviſor and Vicar General of *Gra-*'nada; for the moſt Reverend the Biſhop of 'Alemeria, Dr. *Peter Martinez de Eſpinoza*, 'Chaplain of the Royal Chappel; Fryer *John* 'Ramirez, Provincial and Difinidor General 'and Conſultor of the Holy Office of the 'Order of St. *Francis:* Fryer *James Ocon*, 'Dr. Provincial, and Vicar General of the Or-'der of the moſt Holy Trinity: *Francis de* 'Queſada, Provincial of the Society of *Jeſus;* 'Fryer *John de Polanco*, Prior of the *Carthu-*'ſians: Fryer *Vincent Cano Valenceula*, Maſter 'of Divinity, and Prior *de Sancta Cruz lareal;* 'Fryer *Fuſtero*, *M.* Guardian of St. *Francis;* 'Peter de Vargas, Rector of the Society of 'Jeſus: Maſter Fryer *Hernando de Peralta*, 'of the Order of St. *Auſtin:* Maſter *Fryer* 'Francis de Segoria, of the Order of St. *Hie-*'rom: *Fryer John Romera*, M. and Rector of 'the Study of *Santa Cruz de Real* of *Granada:* 'M. *Fryer Francis Nunez*, the Chief Preacher 'of the Convent of *St. Auſtin*, in *Granada;* 'M. *Fryer Peter de Medina*, Profeſſor of Di-'vinity, and Difinitor of *Andulazia* of the 'Order of the Mercy; *Thomas Sanchez*, a 'Theologue, and a Profeſſed of the Society

'of

' of *Jeſus*; *Mart de Caſtillo*, M. of Divinity,
' and Rector of the *Jeſuits* College in *Sevil*;
' *Auſtin Quireſius* a Theologue of the Society
' of *Jeſus*.

Note, *That though there are Fryers of all other Orders among theſe Subſcribers, there is not one of the* Dominican; *the Eyes of that Order, which in all ſuch Matters are commonly ſhut as cloſe as any others, having been opened, as to this, by the Apoſtolical Definition of the Immaculate Conception which was found among theſe Manuſcripts.*

The Glorious Victory, bold Authority here had over Learning; Reaſon, and common Senſe, plainly demonſtrates how little regard in matters of Religion, is due to the determinations of any Aſſembly, that holds it to be lawful, if not meritorious, to lie for God, by making uſe of pious Frauds for the encouragement of Devotion; let ſuch Aſſemblies be never ſo numerous, and the Perſons they conſiſt of be never ſo eminent for Wiſdom and Learning, and for Integrity too in all other Caſes: For could any thing, but that vile Opinion having reigned in this Aſſembly, ever have made, ſo many Perſons of great Wiſdom and Learning, and in ſuch high Poſts, ſo far to have diſgraced their Judgments, and proſtituted

their Consciences, as Solemnly, and as in the Sight of God, to pronounce Writings, which are so palpably Spurious, and but of yesterday, for to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred years standing.

For that all these Manuscripts were Forged, and hid, after the City of *Granada*, was in the year 1492, Recover'd from the *Moors*, is too Notorious for any that is able to Read, them to doubt off: And if by the *three Enemies in the West*, mentioned in the Prophecy, Dr. *Egidio*, Dr. *Constantine*, and Dr. *Cazala*, are meant, as it is more than probable they are, these Manuscripts must not then have been forty years old when they were found; those three great Glories of *Spain*, for Learning, Zeal, and Piety, not having been taken up by the Inquisition for being Protestants until after the year 1550.

But though the Manuscripts are all palpably very Modern, it is not improbable that the Reliques of Bones and Ashes may be as ancient as the Plates say they are; the Caverns wherein they were found having been the Burying place of publick Malefactors, in the times of the *Romans*.

Neither is it any new thing, that the Bones and Ashes of such should come to be Venerated, and being visited with great Devotion, that they should be reckond to work Mira-

Miracles; the complaint, that some whose Souls were in Hell, had their Bodies, or some part of them Venerated on Earth, being near as ancient as the Superstition of Venerating Reliques: And let Reliques be whose they will, when they are visited by great Multitudes of People with Devotion, for to help them to Health, unless none that visit them do ever recover, which in such Multitudes would be a Miracle indeed, they will infallibly be reckoned to have wrought Miracles.

F I N I S.

A VIEW OF THE COURT OF INQUISITION IN PORTUGAL:

With a LIST of the Prisoners that came forth in an Act of the Faith celebrated at Lisbon, in the Year 1682.

THE Court of Inquisition, which in Portugal is commonly called The Holy Office, and The Holy Tribunal, consists of an extraordinary Assembly of several Officers, viz. The Supreme Council, Inquisitors, Assistors, Qualificators, a Secretary, an Advo-

A VIEW OF THE COURT of INQUISITION IN *PORTUGAL*:

With a LIST of the Prisoners that came forth in an Act of the Faith celebrated at *Lisbon*, in the Year 1682.

THE Court of Inquisition, which in *Portugal* is commonly called, *The Holy Office*, and *The Holy House*, consists of an *Inquisitor General*: The Supreme Council, Inquisitors, Assessors, Qualificators, a Secretary, an Advocate,

vocate Fiſcal, a Treaſurer, Familiars, and Goalers.

The Inquiſitor General, who is commonly called the *Inquiſidor Mor*, is named by the King, but confirmed and authorized by the *Pope*, to act as his Delegate; he lives conſtantly at *Lisbon*, in an Houſe in the Inquiſition, which belongs to his Office: It is a a Place of ſo great Dignity and Profit, that the Cardinal *Infante Don Henry*, and *Albert* Cardinal, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, were in it, and *Don Veriſſimo Alencaſtro* left the Primacy of *Braga* for it.

The Counſellors of the Supreme Court are all named by the *Inquiſitor Major*, but muſt before they act have the Kings' approbation: This Council Sits conſtantly twice a Week at *Lisbon*.

The Inquiſitors, who are commonly Secular Prieſts, do belong either to the Supreme Court which is fixed at *Lisbon*, or to the Inquiſitions of *Conimbra*, *Ebora*, or *Goa* in the *Eaſt Indies*, which Courts have all the ſame Inferior Officers, and Stiles, and have all their Acts of the Faith.

The Aſſeſſors are Divines, Civilians, and Canoniſts, which are conſulted by the Inquiſitors in all different Caſes.

The Qualificators are employed in correcting and amending of Books, and are commonly *Dominican Fryers*.

It

It is to be hoped, the *Heresy* of *Doctrines*, is better understood by these Qualificators, than the Etymology of the Word *Heretick*, was by the Writer of their *Repertorium* printed at *Venice* in the Year 1588, who to shew his Critical Learning, saith, the Word *Hæreticus*, according to some is compounded of *Erro*, and *Recto*; because an *Heretick* errs from what is right: According to others it is derived from *Erciscor*, which signifies to divide; and according to some it comes from *Adhæreo*, because it is one's adhering obstinately to an Error, that makes him an *Heretick*. And with the same stock of Learning it was, that another *Inquisitor* proved from St. *Paul's* Words, *Hæreticum devita*, that *Christians* were commanded *to deprive Hereticks of their Lives*.

The Secretary writes down whatever is said judicially in the Inquisition.

The *Advocate Fiscal* prosecutes the Prisoner with his utmost skill and diligence to convict him of *Heresy*.

The Treasurer has the Estate and all the Goods of the Prisoner put into his hands, when the Prisoner is apprehended.

The *Familiars* are the *Bayliffs* of the *Inquisition*; which tho it is a vile Office in all other Criminal Courts, is esteemed so honourable in this of the *Inquisition*, that there is not a Nobleman in the Kingdom that is

not in it, and who are commonly employ'd by the *Inquisitors* to apprehend people: Neither is it any wonder, that persons of the highest Quality do desire to be thus employ'd, since the same plenary Indulgence is by the Pope granted to every single exercise of this Office, as was granted by the *Lateran Council* to those that succoured the *Holy Land*.

The Gaolers are directed by the Inquisitors, how to dispose of, and how to treat their Prisoners, and are straitly charged not to give, nor to suffer them to have any manner of Intelligence.

The Inquisitors, and all their Officers do take an Oath, not to discover any thing that is said or done within the Walls of the Inquisition to any Person whatsoever, neither is there any thing more severely punished by this Court, than the violation of that Oath.

And whereas the Popes having thus appointed Inquisitors to be the Judges of Heresie, was a great Incroachment on the Episcopal Jurisdiction, which, the Papal ever since it pretended to be Monarchical, has sought by a thousand ways to lessen; the Popes, to make this Encroachment go down the easier, allowed two Priviledges to the Bishops; the one was, that the Inquisitors should not have Authority to Imprison a

Bishop;

Bishop: And the other was, that before they condemned any person as a *Heretick*, they should send to the Bishop of the Place, to concur with them in that *Sentence;* which two *Constitutions*, though they are still in force, are of little benefit to the Bishops; who though they may not be imprisoned upon suspicion of *Heresie* by the *Inquisitors*, may be confined to their Houses by them, until they have inform'd the *Pope*, as the *Archbishop* of *Toledo* was in the Reign of *Philip* II. And if the Bishop when he is acquainted with the process of the Prisoner, should refuse to agree to his being condemned, the *Inquisitors* may pass *Sentence* notwithstanding; for in this, as in all other Cases, the *Divine Authority* of *Bishops*, when it happens to clash with the *Papal*, must still give way to it.

The Court of Inquisition proceeds summarily, and most commonly upon a Denunciation, which, does not like an Accusation, disable the person that makes it to be a Witness, and to denounce; The Inquisition, forceth all that can do it, by *Edicts* in the Form following.

TO *All and singular Christians, as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks of both Sexes, of whatsoever Degree, Order, Condition, Preeminence, Dignity, or Authority, the highest not excepted. Know ye, That we by the Series*

ries and Tenor of these Presents, and by our Authority, and by that of the Office we execute here, do Charge and Command, That within twelve Days after the Publication hereof, the first four of which are to be as the first, and the next four as the second, and the last four as a peremptory and third Canonical Admonition; all that do know or suspect any of Heresy, to come and inform against them, upon Pain of the greater Excommunication latæ Sententiæ, *and which shall be* ipso facto *incurred, and from which they cannot be absolved by any, but by our Lord the Pope or by us: And we do further Certifie, That whosoever, despising the Penalty of this Excommunication, shall forbear to inform us, shall moreover be proceeded against as a* Favourer of Hereticks.

If the Informer, when he comes in, names any Witnesses besides himself, they are sent for privately, and before they are examined, do take an Oath, not to discover to any person their having been with the Inquisitors, nor to speak of any thing they said, saw, or heard within that Court.

All people, tho never so infamous, and though they stand convicted of Perjury, are *in favour of the Faith*, and in *detestation of Hereticks*, admitted by the Inquisition to be Witnesses, Mortal Enemies only excepted.

This

This Exception is of little benefit to the Priſoner, by reaſon of his not knowing who they are that have informed and witneſſed againſt him.

The Depoſitions of the Informer, and Witneſſes, if there be any, being thus privately taken, a Familiar is ſent for, and being come, he has the following Order put into his hand.

BY the Command of the Reverend Father N. *an Inquiſitor of* Heretical Pravity, *let* N. *be apprehended, and committed to the Priſons of this Holy Office, and out of which he ſhall not be releaſed, but by the Expreſs Order of the ſaid Reverend Inquiſitor.*

If ſeveral perſons are to be taken up at the ſame time, the *Familiars* are commanded ſo to order things, that they may know nothing of one anothers being apprehended; and at this the *Familiars* are ſo expert, that a Father and his three ſons, and three Daughters, who lived together in the ſame Houſe, were all carried Priſoners to the Inquiſition, without knowing any thing of one anothers being there, until ſeven Years afterwards, when they that were alive, came forth in an *Act of the Faith.*

The Priſoner being apprehended and carried with all poſſible ſecrecy to the Inquiſition, is delivered to the Goaler.

The

The Priſons of the Inquiſition are little Dark Rooms, and which have no other Furniture but a hard Quilt, and a uſeful Pot: The Priſoners are not ſuffered to ſee any Body but their Keeper, who brings them their Diet, and with it a lighted Lamp, which burns about half an hour; neither muſt their Keeper without leave from the Inquiſitors, entertain any Diſcourſe with them.

After the Priſoner has ſpent two or three days and nights in his Melancholy Apartment, he is carried by his Keeper before the Inquiſitors; who before they ask him a Queſtion, do make him take an Oath, to return true Anſwers to all their Interrogatories; and if he has ever been guilty of any *Hereſie*, to confeſs it to them.

The firſt Queſtion the Priſoner is asked, is, *Whether he knows, why he was taken up by the Inquiſition?* and if he anſwers, *That he does not know*; he is then asked, *Whether he knows for what Crimes the Inquiſition uſeth to impriſon people?* if he anſwers, *For Hereſie*, he is admoniſhed upon the Oath he has taken, to confeſs all his *Hereſies*, and to diſcover all his Teachers and Complices: If the Priſoner denies that he ever held any *Hereſies*, or had ever any communication with any *Hereticks*, he is gravely told, *That the Holy Office does not uſe to impriſon people raſhly or without having good grounds for what*

they

they do, and that therefore he would do well to confeſs his Guilt, and that the rather, becauſe the Holy Office, *contrary to the cuſtom of all other Courts, is ſevere to thoſe that deny, but merciful to all that confeſs their Guilt.*

If the Priſoner perſiſts in denying, that he ever held any *Hereſies*, his Goaler is called in, and commanded to carry him back to the place from whence he came, and the Priſoner is admoniſhed ſtrictly to examine his own Conſcience, that the next time they ſend for him, he may be prepared to make true and full Confeſſion of all his *Hereſies*, *Teachers*, and *Complices*: The Priſoner having been allowed two or three days more to do this in: He is brought before the Inquiſitors a ſecond time, and is asked, *Whether he comes prepared to confeſs?* and if he anſwers, *That he cannot without accuſing himſelf or others falſly, make any ſuch Confeſſion as they deſire of him*; they do then ask him, *Where he was born, and what his Parents were, and where he went to School, and who were his Schoolmaſters, and where he has lived all his time? and with whom he has converſed moſt? and who has been his Confeſſor? and when he was laſt at Confeſſion, and at the Sacrament?* with twenty more ſuch Queſtions: And being told, *That they have ſufficient proof of his being a Heretick*; they command him, ſince he cannot repent of his *Hereſies*, unleſs

leſs he confeſſeth them all, to go back to his Priſon, and there pray to God for Grace to diſpoſe him to make a true and full Confeſſion to the ſaving of his Soul, which is all they ſeek after: And being again allowed two or three days to pray, and conſider on what the Inquiſitors have ſaid to him, he is brought before them a third time; and in caſe he perſiſts in pleading, Not guilty, he is then asked ſome Queſtions concerning the *Heretical Doctrines* he ſtands charged withal: For example, *Whether he believes Chriſt to be bodily preſent in the Sacrament, and that it is lawful to adore Images, and to pray to Saints and Angels?* And if he affirms, *That he did always firmly believe theſe, and all the other Doctrines of the Roman Church*; he is asked, *If he always believed theſe Doctrines how he came to ſpeak againſt them?* and if he denies that he ever did, he is then told, *That ſince he is ſo obſtinate in his Hereſies, of which they have a ſufficient proof before them, they will order their Advocate Fiſcal to form his Proceſs, and to convict him of them.* But in caſe the Inquiſitors have not ſufficient Evidence, notwithſtanding, to draw a Confeſſion from the Priſoner, they have told him oftner than once, *That they had*: They do then fall a Note lower; and tell the Priſoner, That though they may not have ſufficient proof of his *Heretical Words* and *Actions* to

convict

convict him of them, that yet they have sufficient to put him on the Rack to make him confess them: And having fixed the day when he is to undergo the Tortures, he, when that dismal Day comes, if he does not prevent it by such a Confession as is expected from him, is led to the place where the Rack is, attended by an Inquisitor, and a Publick Notary, who is to write down the Answers the Prisoner returns to the Questions which shall be put to him by the Inquisitor, whilst he is upon the Rack: During the time the Executioner is preparing that Engine of unspeakable Cruelty, and is taking off the Prisoner's Cloths to his Shirt and Drawers, the Inquisitor is still exhorting the Prisoner to have compassion both on his Body and Soul, and by making a true and full Confession of all his *Heresies*, to prevent his being tortured: But if the Prisoner saith, That he will suffer any thing, rather than accuse himself or others falsly, the Inquisitor commands the Executioner to do his Duty, and to begin the Torture; which in the Inquisition is given by twisting a small Cord hard about the Prisoners naked Arms, and hoisting him up from the Ground by an Engine to which the Cord is fastned: And as if the miserable Prisoners, hanging in the Air by his Arms, were not Torment enough, he has several quassations or shakes given him;

him; and which is done by ſcrewing his Body up higher, and letting it down again with a Jirk, which disjoints his Arms, and after that the Torture is much more exquiſite than it was before.

When the Priſoner is firſt hoiſted from the Ground, an hourglaſs is turned up, and which, (if he does not prevent it by making ſuch a Confeſſion of his Hereſies as the Iniquiſitor that is preſent all the while, and is continually asking him Queſtions, expects from him,) muſt run out before he is taken down, to promiſe to make ſuch a Confeſſion, if they will take him off the Rack, not being ſufficient to procure him that Mercy, no more than his crying out that he ſhall expire immediately if they do not give him ſome eaſe; that, as the Inquiſitors tell us, being no more than all that are upon their Rack do think they are ready to do.

If the Priſoner endures the Rack without confeſſing any thing, which few, or none, though never ſo innocent, are able to do; ſo ſoon as the Hour-glaſs is out, he is taken down, and carried back to his Priſon, where there is a Chirugeon ready to put his Bones in joint. And though in all other Courts, the Priſoners having endured the Rack without Confeſſing the Crimes for whichthey were Tortured, clears them, and

makes

makes void all the Evidence that was againſt him, yet in the Inquſition, where whatſoever Humanity and right Reaſon have eſtabliſhed in favour of the Priſoner, is left to the diſcretion of the Judge, it is commonly otherwiſe; the Priſoners that will not confeſs any thing, being uſually Racked twice; and if they ſtand it out, tho' few of them can do that, thrice.

But if the Priſoner makes the Confeſſion the Inquiſitor expects he ſhould on the Rack, it is writ down word for word by the Notary, and is, after the Priſoner has had a day or two reſt, carry'd to the Priſoner, to ſet his hand to it, which if the Priſoner does, it puts an end to his Proceſs, the want of ſufficient Evidence to have Convicted him, being abundantly ſupply'd by this extorted Confeſſion, being thus ſigned by him: But in caſe the Priſoner, when it is brought to him, refuſeth to ſign it, affirming it to be falſe, and to have been extorted from him by the extremity of the Torture, he is then carried to the Rack a ſecond time, to oblige him to repeat and ſign the ſame Confeſſion.

It is a vey hard matter for any one that is a Priſoner in the Inquiſition for Hereſie, to eſcape the Rack, ſince neither the Profeſſing and Maintaining the Doctrines to be true wherewith he is Charged, nor the de-

nying of them, can ſecure him from it, the firſt being commonly Racked, to make them diſcover their Teachers and Accomplices, and the Second, to oblige them to confeſs their own Guilt; and if a Priſoner does confeſs his having ſpoke ſome Heretical words, but to ſave his Eſtate, ſtands in his having ſpoke them Raſhly, and in a Paſſion, without an Heretical Mind, he is Racked to make him diſcover whether it was ſo or not, or whether his Thoughts were not the ſame with his words. If a Priſoner either makes no Confeſſion at all, or does not confeſs the particular Heretical Words or Facts wherewith he ſtands Charged, and with which the Inquiſitors will never acquaint him; he is asked whether he has any thing beſides his denial to offer in his own defence, and if he has, to make uſe of it: For nowthe Advocate Fiſcal, upon their having Evidence enough againſt him, is ordered to form his Proceſs. Here, if the Priſoner alledgeth, that unleſs they will be pleaſed to let him know the particular Heretical words, or Facts, he ſtands charged withal, and who the perſons are that have informed and witneſſed againſt him, that it will not be poſſible for him to make any defence; he is told, that cannot be done, becauſe, to let him know the particular Heretical words or Facts might lead him to

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the knowledge of the Informers and Witneſſes; who, by the fundamental Law of the Inquiſition, muſt never either directly or indirectly be diſcovered to him.

Now for this ſingular and inhumane Cuſtom of not letting their Priſoners know the particular Facts they ſtand charged withal, nor who they are that have informed and witneſſed againſt them, the Inquiſitors have nothing to ſay, but that it is neceſſary to the Security of the Lives of the Accuſers and Witneſſes, which, if they were known, would be in ſo great danger; that none would dare to venture to inform or bear witneſs againſt Hereticks in their Court. Which Pretence tho' it might have ſome ground, when Courts of Inquiſition were firſt erected, no City, no not *Rome* it ſelf, having ſubmitted quietly to them when they were firſt introduced; it is now notorious to all the World, and to none more than to the Inquiſitors themſelves that it is altogether groundleſs, and eſpecially in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where the Inquiſition is not only eſtabliſhed by Law, but by a wonderful Faſcination, is ſo fixed in the Hearts and Affections of the People, that one that ſhould offer the leaſt Affront to another, for having been an Informer or Witneſs in the Inquiſition, would be torn in a thouſand pieces; and did the Priſoners

that have been in the Inquiſition but know certainly, who the Perſons were, that had informed and witneſſed againſt them, they durſt not for their Lives ſpeak one word againſt them, or ſhew them the leſs Reſpect on that account.

Now for a Court to continue a Cuſtom ſo ſingularly unjuſt and cruel, and upon a Pretence all the World knows to be altogether groundleſs, is a Confidence not to be matched any where, that I know of.

The Priſoner being thus deny'd the knowledge of the Things and Perſons, without which it is ſcarce poſſible for him, tho' never ſo innocent, to make any Defence, he is notwithſtanding that graciouſly asked by the Inquiſitors, whether he deſires to have an Advocate and Proctor to help him to make it: If the Priſoner ſaith he would, he is not to name them, but muſt take thoſe the Inquiſitors ſhall appoint, and who before they have ſeen their Client, muſt take the following Oath.

J. N. *Doctor of both Laws, do in the Preſence of the Lords Inquiſitors of this Place againſt Heretical Pravity having my Hand on the holy Goſpel of God, promiſe and ſwear ſincerely and faithfully, to defend and maintain the Cauſe of* N. *a Priſoner, in the Priſons of this holy Office, who ſtands*

stands accused and impeached for Causes mentioned in its Acts: But so as not to use any Trick or Cavil, or to instruct my said Client how to conceal the Truth in Judgment: And I do farther promise and swear, That if I shall by any way discover my said Client to be guilty of the Crime or Crimes wherewith he stands Charged, That I will thereupon immediately dismiss his Cause; and if by having searched narrowly into his Case, I shall discover that he has had Complices in his Heresies, that I will inform against them to this holy Office: *All which I do promise upon Pain of Perjury, and of an Excommunication, from which I cannot be absolved by any but by this* holy Office. *So help me God, and these holy Gospels.*

The same Oath is taken by the Prisoner's Proctor, as the Inquisitors call him, tho' in Truth, both he and the Advocate are the Inquisitor's Engines, made use of to fish what they can out of the Prisoner against himself and his Friends, rather than any thing else.

The Prisoner being thus fitted with an Advocate and Proctor, and who are not suffered to know any thing more of his Accusers, and of the Witnesses against him, than he himself knows; he is asked by them whether he would have any Questions put by the Inquisitors to those that have

informed and witneſſed againſt him, or would have them examined upon any Points: And in caſe the Priſoner furniſheth his Advocate with any ſuch Queſtions or Points, they are put by him into Form, and delivered to the Inquiſitors.

The Priſoner is asked alſo whether he has any Witneſſes of his Orthodoxy; and if he names any, they are ſent for, and heard by the Inquiſitors: And as theſe Witneſſes do go to the Inquiſition with trembling hearts, ſo they are extremely cautious, not to ſay any thing concerning the Priſoner, that ſhall imply their having lived in any intimacy with him, for fear of bringing themſelves under a ſuſpicion of Hereſie: and by the Laws of the Inquiſition, no Relation of the Priſoners within the fourth degree can be a Witneſs for him. When the Priſoner's Advocate and Proctor are diſmiſſed, they take an Oath that they have no Copy of the Defence, the Priſoner made for himſelf, and that they ſhall never ſpeak of it to any perſon whatever, neither is the Priſoner ever ſuffered to ſee the Depoſitions of his own fearful Witneſſes, no more than the Depoſitions of thoſe that are againſt him.

Beſide the forementioned, there is another common Proceſs in the Inquiſition, which is againſt thoſe that have Murder'd themſelves,

or

or died a natural death in their Priſons. The Proceſs againſt the firſt is ſhort; his having Murdered himſelf, being judged ſuch an evidence of his Guilt as is ſufficient to Convict him of the Hereſies wherewith he was Charged: The Proceſs againſt the ſecond is carry'd on by the Advocate Fiſcal in the ſame manner as it would have been, had the Priſoner been alive, and the Priſoner's Relations and Friends, or any other that have any thing to offer in defence of the deceaſed, are by a Publick Edict ſummon'd to appear before the Inquiſitors within forty days, to give their Evidence; and if upon this Summons none do appear to offer any thing in vindication of the deceaſed, as I believe few are ever ſo hardy as to do, the deceaſed, after the expiration of that term of days, is acquitted, or condemned, in the ſame manner that he would have been had he been alive; and if he is Condemned, his whole Eſtate is forfeited, and his Body, and Effigies are burnt at the next Act of the Faith, as are the Bodies and Effigies of thoſe that had Murdred themſelves.

But the power of the Inquiſition extends not only to thoſe that died in its Priſons, but to the Bodies, Eſtates and Good Names of all, that after their deceaſe ſhall be Convicted of having died Hereticks:

and tho' as to the Estates of those that are Convicted of having dy'd Hereticks, they can go no farther than forty years, as to the taking of their Bones out of their Graves and Burning them, and the depriving them of their good name, there is no limitation of time. When a competent number of Prisoners are Convicted of Heresy, either by their own voluntary, or extorted Confession, or upon the evidence of certain Witnesses, a day is fixt by the chief Inquisitor for a Jayl delivery, which is called by them, an Act of the Faith, and which is always upon a Sunday. In the Morning of the Day the Prisoners are all brought into a great Hall, where they have the Habits put on, they are to wear in the Procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about nine of the Clock in the Morning.

The First in the Procession are the *Dominican* Fryers, who carry the Standard of the Inquisition, which on the one side hath their Founder, *Dominic*'s Picture, and on the other side a Cross, betwixt an Olive Tree and a Sword, with this Motto, *Justitia & Misericordia*: Next after the *Dominicans* come the Penitents, some with *Benitoes*, and some without, according to the nature of their Crimes; they are all in black Coats without Sleeves, and barefooted, with a Wax Candle in their hand; next comes the Penitents who have narrowly escap'd being

Burnt,

Burnt, who over their black Coat have Flames painted, with their points turned downward, to ſignify their having been ſaved, but ſo as by Fire; this Habit is call'd by the *Portugueze*, *Feugo revolto*, or Flames turn'd up ſide down: Next come the Negative and Relapſed that are to be Burnt, with Flames upon their Habit, pointing upwards, and next come thoſe who Profeſs Doctrines contrary to the Faith of the *Roman* Church, and who beſides Flames on their Habit pointing upward, have their Picture, which is drawn two or three days before upon their Breaſts, with Dogs, Serpents, and Devils, all with open mouths painted about it.

Pegna, a Famous *Spaniſh* Inquiſitor calls this Proceſſion, *Horrendum ac tremendum Spectaculum*, and ſo it is in truth, there being ſomething in the looks of all the Priſoners, beſides thoſe that are to be Burnt, that is ghaſtly anddiſconſolate, beyond what can be imagined, and in the Eyes andCountenance of thoſe that are to beBurnt, there is ſomething that looks fierce and eager.

The Priſoners that are to be Burnt alive, beſides a Familiar, which all the reſt have, have a Jeſuit on each hand of them, who are continually Preaching to them, to abjure their Hereſies; bnt if they offer to ſpeak any thing in defence of the Doctrines they are going to ſuffer Death for profeſſing, they

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are immediately gagg'd, and not ſuffer'd to ſpeak a Word more.

This I ſaw done to a Priſoner, preſently after he came out of the Gates of the Inquiſition, upon his having look'd up to the Sun, which he had not ſeen before in ſeveral Years, and cry'd out in a Rapture; *How is it poſſible for people that behold that glorious Body, to worſhip any Being but him that created it?* After the Priſoners, comes a Troop of *Familiars* on Horſeback, and after them the Inquiſitors, and other Officers of the Court upon Mules; and laſt of all comes the *Inquiſitor General* upon a White-Horſe, led by two Men, with a Black Hat, and a Green Hatband, and attended by all the Nobles, that are not employ'd as *Familiars* in the Proceſſion.

In the *Terreiro de Paco*, which may be as far from the Inquiſition, as *White-hall* is from *Temple-bar*; there is a Scaffold erected, which may hold two or three thouſand people; and at the one end ſit the *Inquiſitors*, and at the other end the Priſoners, and in the ſame order as they walked in the Proceſſion, thoſe that are to be burnt, being ſeated on the higheſt Benches behind the reſt, and which may be ten Foot above the Floor of the *Scaffold*.

After ſome Prayers, and a Sermon, which is made up of Encomiums of the Inquiſition,

and

and Invectives againſt Heretics, a Secular Prieſt aſcends a Desk, which ſtands near the middle of the Scaffold, and who having firſt taken all the Abjurations of the Penitents who kneel before him, one by one in the ſame Order they walked in the Proceſſion, at laſt he recites the final Sentence of the Inquiſition upon thoſe that are to be put to death, in the words following,

'WE, the Inquiſitors of Heretical Pra-
'vity, having, with the Concur-
'rence of the moſt Illuſtrious N. Lord
'Archbiſhop of *Lisbon*, or of his Deputy,
'N. called on the Name of the Lord Jeſus
'Chriſt, and of his Glorious Mother, the Vir-
'gin *Mary*, and ſitting on our Tribunal, and
'Judging, with the Holy Goſpels lying before
'us, that ſo our Judgment may be, in the
'ſight of God, and our eyes might, behold
'what is juſt in all matters betwixt the
'Magnifick Doctor *N.* Advocate Fiſcal on
'the one part, and you, *N.* now before
'us on the other, we have Ordained, that
'in this place, and on this day you ſhould
'receive your definitive Sentence,

'We do therefore by this our Sentence
'put in Writing, define, pronounce, declare,
'and Sentence thee, *N.* of the City of *Lisbon*,
'to be *a Convicted, Confeſſing, Affirmative, and profeſſed Heretick, and to be deliverd, and left by*

us

us as such, to the Secular Arm: and we by this our Sentence, do cast thee out of the Ecclesiastical Court, as a Convicted, Confessing, Affirmative and professed Heretick, and we do leave and deliver thee to the Secular Arm, and to the Power of the Secular Court; but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that Court so to moderate its Sentence, as not to touch thy Blood, or to put thy Life in any danger.

Is there in all History, an Instance of so gross and confident a Mockery of God, and the World, as this of the Inquisitors earnestly beseeching the Civil Magistrates not to put the Hereticks they have Condemned, and delivered to them, to Death? For were they in earnest when they make this Solemn Petition to the Secular Magistrates, why do they bring their Prisoners out of the Inquisition, and deliver them to those Magistrates, in Coats painted over with Flames? why do they teach, that all Hereticks, above all other Malefactors, ought to be punished with death? and why do they never resent the Secular Magistrates having so little regard to their earnest and joynt Petition, as never to fail to Burn all the Hereticks which are delivered to 'em by the Inquisition, within an hour or two after they have them in their Hands? And why in *Rome*, where the Supreme, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Authority are lodged in the

the ſame Perſon, is this Petition of the Inquiſition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted? Certainly, not to take any notice of the old Canon, which forbids the Clergy to have any hand in the Blood of any Perſon whatſoever, would be a much leſs Diſhonour to the Inquiſition, than to pretend to go on, obſerving that Canon, by making a Petition which is known to be ſo contrary to their Principles, and Deſires.

The Priſoners are no ſooner in the hands of the Civil Magiſtrate, than they are loaded with Chains, and before the eyes of the Inquiſitors; and being carried firſt to the Secular Goal, are within an hour or two brought from thence before the Lord Chief Juſtice; who, without knowing any thing of their particular Crimes, or of the Evidence that was againſt them, asks 'em one by one, *In what Religion they do intend to die*? If they anſwer, that they will die in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, they are Condemned by him, *To be carried, forthwith to the place of Execution, and there to be firſt Strangled and afterwards burnt to Aſhes.* But if they ſay, *They will die in the Proteſtant*, or in any other Faith that is contrary to the *Roman*, they are then Sentenced by him, *To be carry'd forthwith to the place of Execution, and there to be Burnt alive.*

At

At the place of Execution, which at *Lisbon* is the *Ribera*, there are so many Stakes set up as there are Prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity ofdryFurz about them: *The Stakes of the Profeß'd*, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four Yards high, and have a small Board whereon the Prisoner is to be seated,within half aYard of their top; the Negative and Relapsed being first strangled and burnt; the Profest go up aLadder betwixt the two Jesuits which have attended them all day; and when they are come even with the forementioned Board, they turn about to the people, and the Jesuits do spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the *Profest* to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; which if the *Profest* refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the Executioner ascends, and having turn'd the *Profest* off the Ladder upon the Seat, and chained their Bodies close to the Stake, he leaves them, and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their Exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, *That they leave them to the Devil, who is standing at their Elbow to receive their Souls, and carry them with him into theFlames of Hell Fire, so soon as they are out of their Bodies*: Upon this a greatShout is raised,and as soon as the Jesuits are off the Ladders, the cry is, *Let the Dog's Beards, Let the Dogs*

Beards

Beards be made; which is done by thruſting flaming Furzes faſtened to a long Pole againſt their Faces; and this Inhumanity is commonly continued until their Faces are burnt to a Coal, and is always accompanied with ſuch loud Acclamations of joy as are not to be heard upon any other occaſion; a Bull Feaſt, or a Farce being dull Entertainments to the uſing of a profeſs'd *Heretick* thus inhumanly.

The *Profeſts Beards having been thus made*, as they call it in jollity, Fire is ſet to the Furz which are at the bottom of the Stake, and above which the *Profeſt* are chained ſo high, that the top of the flame ſeldom reacheth higher than the Seat they ſit upon: and if there happen to be a Wind, and to which that place is much expoſed, it ſeldom reacheth ſo high as their Knees: So that though if there be a calm, the *Profeſt* are commonly dead in about half an hour after the Furz is ſet on fire; yet if the Weather prove windy, they are not after, that dead in an hour and a half, or two hours, and ſo are really roaſted, and not burnt to death: But tho out of Hell there cannot poſſibly be a more lamentable Spectacle than this, being joined with the Sufferers; ſo long as they are able to ſpeak, crying out, *Miſericordia por amor de Dios, Mercy for the love of God;* yet it is beheld by people of both Sexes, and of all Ages, with

with ſuch Tranſports of Joy and Satisfaction, as are not on any other occaſion to be met with.

And that the Reader may not think that this inhuman Joy may be the effect of a natural cruelty that is in thoſe peoples diſpoſition, and not of the Spirit of their Religion, he may reſt aſſured, that all publick Malefactors, beſides Hereticks, have their violent deaths no where more tenderly lamented, than among the ſame people, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their Deaths that appears inhuman or cruel.

Within a few days after the Execution, the *Pictures* of all that have been burnt, and which were taken off their Breaſts when they were brought to the Stake, are hung up in St. *Domingo*'s *Church*, whoſe Weſt End, tho very high, is all covered over with theſe *Trophies* of the Inquiſition hung up there in honour to *Dominic*, who, to fulfil his Mother's Dream, was the firſt Inventor of that Court: *Dominic*'s Mother, when ſhe was ready to be brought to Bed of him, having dream'd that ſhe was delivered not of a Human Creature, but of a fierce Dog, with a burning Torch in his Mouth.

A LIST

A

LIST

Of the Persons who received their Sentences in the Act of the *Faith*, celebrated in the City of *Lisbon*, on the 10th of *May*, 1682.

Men that died in the Prisons, and were absolved.

Ages.	Punishments.
Diogo de Chaves a new Christian, a Farmer of the Revenue, and a professed Knight of a certain military Order, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	
Simaon Roiz Chaves a new Christian, a Man of Business, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	

Ages.	Punishments.
Antonio Nunes de Royga, a new Christian, a Bacheler, a professed Knight of a certain military Order, the Son of *Sebastiaon Nunes de Lisboa*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	
Bernardo de Souza, who was of no Calling, a Native of the Town of *Montemor velho*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*, and Inhabitant of this City.	
Luis de Silva de Menezes, part of a *New Christian*, who lived upon his Estate, a Native of the City of *Evora*, and Inhabitant of the Town of *Aveiro*.	
Manoel da Costa, a New Christian, a Merchant and Native of the City of *Leyria*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*.	

Persons who did not Abjure.

Ages.		Punishments.
54.	*Antonio Pereire*, A *New Christian*, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Chasim*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant of this City, for having swore falsly before the Tribunal of the *Holy Office*, in Matters of the *Faith*.	3 *Years at* Castro Marim.
75.	*Simaon Henriques*, a *New Christian*, who was a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who abjured *de vehemente*, for the Crimes of *Judaism*, in an *Act of the Faith*, celebrated therein in the Year 1656: Imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same.	5 *Years in* Brasil.

Ages.	Punishments.
26. *Manoel Dos Santos Annes*, who has no Calling, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Santarem*, for having feigned himself a Familiar of the *Holy Office*, and in the name of the said Tribunal, testify'd the clearness of the Blood of certain persons, having accepted of Money from some for the said Effect.	

For Sodomy.

30. *Salvador veira*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Amoro*, in the County of the Town of *Almada*, *Negative*.	5 *Years in* Brasil.
18. *Antonio de Olivero*, a Taylor, a Bachelor, the Son of *Manoel de Olivero*, who was a Wine-Merchant in the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Patient.	*To be Whipped, and to be Three Years in the Gallies.*

20.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
20.	*Manoel Baijaon*, a Carpenter, a Bachelor, the Son of *Mainoel Roiz*, a Carrier, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confeſſeth, and was the Patient.	*Ibid.*
23.	*Domingo Lopez*, a Bacheler, and Footman, the Son of *Pedro Lopez*, a Labourer, Native of the Pariſh of St. *Pedro di Addais*, in the County and Village of *Guiemoraon*, Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confeſſeth, and the Patient.	*The ſame, and 5 Years in the Gallies.*
19.	*Joſeph Gomez*, a Taylor, a Bachelor, the Son of *Miguel Gomez*, Native of the Pariſh of *Sileiro*, in the County of *Guimarains*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confeſſeth, and was the Patient.	*The ſame, and 10 Years in the Gallies.*

Ages.		Punishments.
37.	*Manoel Machado Negueira*, a Bachelor, a Schoolmaster of Children, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Porlodemos*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Agent.	*The same, and* 10 *Years in the Gallies.*
	Abjuration de Leve.	
45.	*Antonio Laurenco de Almaida*, a Soldier of the Regiment of *Algarves*; Native of the City of *Faro*, and Inhabitant of *Spirito Santo*, in the State of *Brasil*, for having married twice, his first Wife being alive.	*Prison, during pleasure, Whipping, and* 5 *Years in the Gallies.*
	Francisco Antunes, a Labourer of the Village of *Fernaon foam*, in the County of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant of *Rapoila*, of the said Bishoprick, for the said Fault.	*The same.*

Ages.		Punishments.
34.	*Joan de Conto Toledo*, who has no Calling, Native of the Town of *Praya*, in the Island of *Tercera*, and Inhabitant of *Sanctos*, under the Government of the *Rio de Janeico*, for the said Fault.	*The same.*
35.	*Manoel Nunes*, a Taylor, Native of the Village of *Quintaon dos Gallegos*, in the County of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant of the Hamlet of *Mauracaon*, of the said City, for the said fault.	*The same.*
46.	*Manoel Jorge*, a Seaman, Native of the Island of *Pico*, and Inhabitant of this City, for the same fault	*The same.*
37.	*Manoel de Almeyda*, a Taylor, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Cadafaon* in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*, for the said fault.	*The same, and 7 Years in the Gallies.*

Age.		Punishments.
43.	*Alvaro Colaco*, a Bacheler, and who was a Soldier, a Native, and Inhabitant of the Town of *Lourinhan*, and who, as it is presumed, did deny the Faith, and go over to the Sect of the *Moors*.	*Prison during Pleasure, and 3 Years in the Gallies.*

Abjuration de vehemente.

30.	*Manoel dos Anios*, an *Old Christian*, a Bacheler, & has no Calling, the Son of *Matheas Correa*, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Alagoada*, in the Island of *Gracioza*, for having taken some Consecrated Crumbs out of the Sacrary of a certain Church.	*The same, and to be Whipped, and be 3 Years in the Gallies.*
36.	*Manoel Joan*, a Bacheler, and Barber, the Son of *Francisco Joan*, a Labourer, Native of the City of St. *Luis*, in the State of *Marignaon*, for the faults of Witchcraft, and for Presumption of his having made a Covenant with the Devil.	*The same.*

32.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
32.	*Agoſtino Roiz de Oliviero*, a Painter, Native of this City, and Inhabitant of *Torreſnoves*, for having ſpoke Heretical, Raſh, Scandalous, Injurious, and to Pious Hearers, offenſive propoſitions, againſt our Lord and his moſt Holy Images.	*The ſame, and Three Years in the Gallies.*
35.	*Joan vas*, a Bacheler, and who was a Soldier, the Son of *Simaon vas*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Abrantes*, for the ſaid fault.	*The ſame, and 7 Years in the Gallies.*

Abjuration for Judaiſm de vehemente.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
51.	*Luis de Mattos Couto*, a *New Chriſtian* who lived upon his own Eſtate, a Native of this City, and Inhabitant in the Government of *Spirito Santo*, in the Sate of *Braſil.*	*Priſon during pleaſure.*

57. *Pedro*

Ages.		Punishments.
57.	*Pedro Roiz da Maya*, a *New Christian*, Native, and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
48.	*Jasper Francisco*, a New Christian, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
62.	*Estavaon da Par Moreno*, a New Christian who lived on his own Estate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alchacere*.	*The same.*
45.	*Pedro Cardozo*, a *New Christian*, a Skinner, and Bacheler, a Native and Inhabitant of the said Town.	*The same.*
42.	*Vasco Francisco Azietado*, a *New Christian*, who was a Soldier, the Son of *Benjamin Gomes Azeitado* who was a Judge, Native of the Town of *Vidiguoira*, and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
33.	*Vincente de Seixas*, a *New Christian*, a Bacheler, the Son of *Manoel de Seixas* an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alcacere*.	*The same.*

Ages.		Puniſhments.
67.	*Manoel Paiz de Souza*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Son of *Manoel Lopez Paiz*, an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the ſaid Town.	*The ſame.*
55.	*Franciſco de Almeida Negraon*, a *New Chriſtian*, who belonged to the Sea, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Pedrenero*, for the ſame fault of *Judaiſm*, and for having ſpoke Propoſitions with an Heretical Obſtinacy after he had been Reproved for 'em.	*The ſame, and Three Years in* Braſil.
52.	*Manoel Lopes de Leon*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Tomar*, and an Inhabitant in this City, for the ſame fault of *Judaiſm*, and for having, when he was in the Priſon, had communication with perſons abroad.	*The ſame, and Two Years in* Algarve.

A Perſon

A Perſon who wore the Habit, but did not Abjure.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
48.	*Joan Alexio*, a *New Chriſtian* a Merchant, Native of *Montemor*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, an Inhabitant in *Sevil*, and Reſident in this City, reconciled by the *Church of Sevil*, in the Year 1672 for the Faults of *Judaiſm*; and impriſoned a ſecond time for having relapſed into the ſame.	*Priſon and Habit perpetual, without remiſſion, and 5 Years in* Braſil.

The Reaſon of this perſon's not having Abjured, was, becauſe he was taken up for having relapſed, and ſo muſt have died without Mercy, had he been convicted.

Abjuration in Forma for *Judaiſm*.

32.	*Diego Lopes Ferraon*, a a *New Chriſtian*, a Scrivener, Notary, and Inhabitant of the Village of *Fradaon*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Covilhan*.	*Priſon, during pleaſure, and the Habit, which ſhall be taken off in the* Act of Faith.

48.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
48.	*Martos Mendes*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Smith, a Native of the Town of *Deſdanha a Nova*, an Inhabitant of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*.	*The ſame.*
52.	*Franciſco Mendes*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Shoemaker, Native of the Town of *Benamanon*, an Inhabitant of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the ſaid Town.	*The ſame.*
28.	*Mathias Roiz*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, Native, and Inhabitant of *Villa Real*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Braga*.	*The ſame.*
44.	*Antonio Lopes Arroyijo*, a *New Chriſtian*, and Tobacco-Merchant, Native of the Town of *Chaſim*, and Inhabitant of *Carrazedo Montenegro*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Chaves*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Braga*, who Abjured *de Levi* for the fault of *Judaiſm*, in an Act of the Faith celebrated in the	*The ſame, and Habit during Pleaſure.*

City

Ages.		Puniſhments.
	City of *Santiago*, in the Year, 1662, Impriſon'd the ſecond time for having been defective, and for a Relapſe into the ſame.	
25.	*Manoel Lopez*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Carrier, a Bachelor, the Son of *Pedro Lopez*, an Inn-keeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Arogolos* in the Archbiſhoprick of *Evora*.	*The ſame.*
62.	*Joan de Santa Maria*, a *Moor* by Nation, the Son of *Maca*, a Native of *Salle*, and Inhabitant of this City, for having returned to the *Sect of Mahomet* after he was baptiz'd a *Chriſtian*.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit.*
	A Second Abjuration.	
31.	*Bernardo Sequeira*, part of a *New Chriſtian*, a Barber, Native of the City of *Lamego*, and Inhabitant of the City *Porto*.	*The ſame.*
30.	*Joan de Crus*, a *New Chriſtian*, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*

Ages.	Puniſhments.
68. *Pedro Alvares de Moras*, half a *New Chriſtian*, a Chirurgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Elvas*.	*The ſame, and 2 Years in* Craſtemain.
35. *Domingo Cardozo*, part of a *New Chriſtian*, an Officer of the *Chancery*, a Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Lamego*.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit.*
54. *Gabriel Gomes*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Native and Inhabitant of *Fundaon*.	*The ſame.*
49. *Luis de Bulaon*, half a *New Chriſtian*, an Officer in the *Court of the Crown*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
The Third Abjuration.	
41. *Ayres Roiz*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Practitioner and Native of the City of *Guarda*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*.	*The ſame.*
69. *Fernaon Roiz Penco*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native of the City of *Badayos*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*

Ages.		Punishments
33.	*Luis Serraon*, more than half a *New Christian*, a Bachelor, a Student in Divinity, the Son of *Antonio Serraon de Crasto*, a *New Christian*, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
35.	*Laurence de Costa*, half a *New Christian*, a Dealer in Horses, the Natural Son of *Martin da Costa*, a Farmer of the Revenues, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
48.	*Manoel Carralho*, half a *New Christian*, who lived by his Practice, Native of the Town of *Cavalhaon*, in the Hundred of the City of *Garda*, an Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
39.	*Francisco Roiz Mogadouro*, a *New Christian*, a Bachelor, the Son of *Antonio Roiz Mogadouro*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*

The

Age. Puniſhment.

The Fourth Abjuration.

72. *Antonio Serraon de Craſto*, a *New Chriſtian*, an Apothecary, a Native, and Inhabitant of this City. — *The ſame.*

29. *Pantaleon Roiz Mogadouro*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Bachelor, the Son of *Antonio Roiz Moga douro*, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who did profeſs the Law of *Moſes*. — *The ſame, and to be confined to a Convent.*

45. *Pedro Duarte Ferraon*, the fourth part of a *New Chriſtian*, an Officer in the *King's Bench*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City. — *Priſon and Habit without remiſſion.*

Joſeph Franciſco, a Nicknamed, *Barraon*, Bachelor, and Shepherd, the Son of *Domingo Franciſco Vagado*, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Azambuija*, for the Crime of Witchcraft, and for having made a Covenant with the Devil. — *Perpetual Priſon and Habit, and 5 Years in the Gallies, and to be whipped.*

Ages.		Punishments.
53.	*Miguel da Cunha*, half a *New Christian*, a Shopkeeper, a Native of the Village of *Alcaides*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*, Inhabitant of the said Village.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit without remission, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 5 Years, in the Gallies.*

A Person that did not Abjure, and wears the Habit.

Ages.		Punishments
68.	*Henrique Nunes Salvador*, a *New Christian*, and who was a Merchant, a Native of *Colminar el Vigo*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant of *Villa Flor*, who was Reconciled by the Inquisition of *Conimbra*, in the Year, 1652. having been twice since Imprisoned for having been defective, *i. e.* in his Confession, and for the faults of a Relapse.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit, without remission, 3 Years in* Crasto Marim, *with the Ensigns of Fire.*

Women

Women that died in the Priſons, and were Abſolved.

Age.		Puniſhment.
	Anna Lopez de Barros, a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Manoel de Medina*, a Native of the Town of *Morchola*, and Inhabitant of this City.	
	Izabel da Coſta, a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Simaon Lopez Torrez*, an Advocate, a Native of this City, and an Inhabitant of the Village of *Sacavom*, in the Hundred of this City.	

Perſons who did not Abjure.

27.	*Anna Roiz*, nick-named *a Toupa*, Married with *Manoel Roiz* a Carter, a Native and Inhabitant of *Abrantes*, for having feigned Viſions, and for Preſumptions of her having had a Covenant with the Devil.	3 *Years to* Craſto Marin.

Ages.		Punishments.
46.	*Magdalena da Cruz*, the Wife of *Augustino Nunes*, who was *Alcaide* of the secret Prisons of this Inquisition, a Native and Inhabitant of this City for having co-operated to corrupt certain Officers of the Holy Office to give intelligence to persons in the Prisons, and to receive answers from them to Persons that were abroad.	5 *Years in the* Brasil.
58.	*Juliana Pereira* Marry'd with *Francisco de Matos*, a Surgeon, Native of the Town of *Setuval*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for having disordered the just regiment of the Holy Office, in having by Bribes corrupted a certain Officer of the said *Tribunal*, to reveal the Secrets thereof, to know the State of some of the Prisoners affairs.	5 *Years in* Angola.

Ages.	Puniſhments.
79. *Catheirna Antonia*, who has ſome part of a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Chriſtovan Roiz*, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Buarcos*, Reconciled by the Inquiſition of *Conimbra*, in the Year 1629, impriſoned the ſecond time for the faults of a Relapſe into *Judaiſm*.	*Abjuration* de Leve.
28. *Joanna Da Paz*, who has three fourths of a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Joſeph Peſſoa* a Merchant, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of *Judaiſm*, and for having co-operated in the corruption of a certain Officer of the *Holy Office*.	*Priſon during pleaſure, and 2 Years in the* Algarves.
48. *Catherina Baretta*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio de Craſto*, a Native of *Villa Franca*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of Witchcraft.	*The ſame, and to be whipp'd, and 4 Years in* Braſil.

Ages.		Punishments.
30.	*Ursula Maria*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Francisco de Salhas*, a Glass Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Alhas Vedros*, and an Inhabitant of this City for the same Fault.	*The same, and five Years in* Brasil.
41.	*Maria Pinheira*, married with *Goncalo da Gama Volante*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the said Fault.	*The same.*

A Person who wears the Habit, but does not Abjure.

Maria Cardoza, part of a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Joan Mendes*, a Taylor, a Native and Inhabitant of *Montemor novo*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, reconciled by the Inquisition of the said City, for *Judaism*, in the Year 1667. imprisoned a second time for having been defective in her Confession.

An Abjuration in forma *for* Judaism.

Ages.		Punishments.
22.	*Maria Gonsalvez*, nicknamed *Amarintha*, part of a *New Christian*, the Daughter of *Joan Francisco*, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of this Village of *Majorca*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Montemoro velho*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*.	*Prison during pleasure, and the Habit, which she is to take off in the Act.*
35.	*Leonor Mendes*, a *New Christian*, married with *Marcos Mendes Ferron*, who is in the List, Native of *Idanha a nova*, an Inhabitant in *Fundaon*	*The same. Prison and Habit during pleasure.*
62.	*Joanna da Paz*, more than half a *New Christian*, married with *Diogo Ramos*, a Native of the City of *Samora*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant in this City.	
55.	*Catarina da Costa*, a New Christian, married with *Francisco da Rocha*, an Attorney, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*

Ages.		Punishments.
23.	*Anna Manoela*, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Joan Lopes Cardozo*, a Merchant, Native of the Village of *Berim*, in the Kingdom of *Galliza*, and Inhabitant in *Chares*.	*The same.*
23.	*Maria de Souza Chares*, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Salvador de Souza*, a Salt-merchant, Native of St. *Jago*, in the Kingdom of *Galliza*, and an Inhabitant in *Chares*.	*The same.*

The Second Abjuration.

57.	*Anna Roiz*, a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Pedro Alecia*, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Bonaventua*, in the Bishoprick of *Samorra* in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant of *Chares*.	*The same.*

Ages.		Puniſhments.
25.	*Izabel Borges*, the fourth part of a *New Chriſtian*, the Daughter of *Manoel Roiz*, a Shopkeeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Montemoronoro*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Evora*.	*The ſame.*
42.	*Anna Maria deSouza*, a *New Chriſtian*, Married with *George Coelho*, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, an Inhabitant of *Fendaon* in the Hundred of *Covilhan*.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit.*
64.	*Catherina de Craſto*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Domingos da Silva*, Native of *Sevil* in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and an Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
49.	*Guiomar Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, Married with *Miguel da Cunha*, who is in the Liſt a Farmer of *Talucco*, Native of the Village of *Alcaide* in the Hundred of *Covilhan*, an Inhabitant in *Fundaon* in the Hundred of the ſaid Town.	*The ſame.*

Ae		Punishments.
45.	*Gracia de Lima*, Married with *Manoel Nunes*, a Native and Inhabitant of *Fundon*.	*The same.*

The Third Abjuration.

22.	*Izabel Maria*, half a *New Christian*, Married with *Raphael da Silva*, who lived by his Practice, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, an Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
40.	*Violante Henriques*, a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Miguel Henriques* a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Corilhan*.	*The same.*
53.	*Brittes Rebella*, part of a *New Christian*, Married with *Manoel das Nevas* a Surgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Montemoro novo* in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*.	*The same.*

59.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
59.	*Iſabel Roiz*, part of a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Luis Nunez*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Maijorca*, in the Biſhoprick of *Conimbra*.	*The ſame.*
27.	*Maria Semeda*, part of a *New Chriſtian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Matheus Sameda*, a Notary, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Portalegre*.	*The ſame.*
42.	*Maria Nunes da Coſta*, a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Ayres Roiz*, who is in the Liſt, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
55.	*Franciſca Serraon*, half a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Luis de Bulhaon* a *Phyſician*, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
	The Fourth Abjuration.	
66.	*Izabel Henriquez*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Simon de Souza*, a Merchant, Native of this City, and an Inhabitant of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Covilhan*.	*Theſame.*

Ages.		Punishments
42.	*Anna Pessoa*, a *New Christian*, married with *Manoel Lopez de Leon*, a Merchant, who is in the List, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the Crime of having co-operated in the corruption of a certain Officer in the *Holy Office*.	*The same, and Two Years in* Algarves

This poor Woman's Crime was, That she bribed an Officer of the Inquisition to conveigh a Letter to her Husband, after he had been a Prisoner in it above 8 Years.

70.	*Ignes Luiza*, a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Pedro Alexio*, a Merchant, Native of the Town of *Alvito*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, an Inhabitant in this City.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit without remission.*
27.	*Ignes Pastana*, the fourth part of a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Laureneo Postana*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*

Ages.		Puniſhments.
32.	*Conſtantina Navarra*, a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Joſeph Roiz* a Goldſmith, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
26.	*Brittees Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Roiz Magadauro*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, who profeſſed the Law of *Moſes*.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit, and recluſion in a Religious Houſe.*

This Gentlewoman had been 10 Years a Priſoner in the Inquiſition, and ſo muſt not have been above 16 when ſhe was taken up; ſhe was ſo rack'd in it, that ſhe was quite cripled.

72.	*Paula de Craſto*, half a New Chriſtian, married with *Antonio Duarte*, a Scrivener of the Civil Court, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*Perpetual Priſon and Habit, and 3 Years in* Braſil.

Ages.	Punishments.
27 *Thereza Maria de Jesus*, more than half a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Serraon*, an *Apothecary*, who is in the List, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 7 Years in* Brasil.

Women that died in the Prisons, and were received.

Ages.	Punishments.
Ignes Duarte, half a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Serraoan*, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	
Isabel do valle, a New Christian, the Wife of *Diogo Roxes*, a Native of the Village of *Berim* in *Castile*, and Inhabitant of *Villaron*, in the Hundred of *Chaves*.	

Ages. Puniſhments.

The Perſons delivered to the Secular Arm.

43. *Gaſpar Lopez Pereire*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, a Bachelor, the Son of *Franciſco Lopez Pereire*, a Native of the Town of *Mogadouro*, an Inhabitant of *Madrid*, and Reſident in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confeſſing, affirmative, profeſſing the Law of *Moſes*, Obſtinate, and Impenitent.

33. *Antonio de Aguiar*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, a Native of *Lamilunilla*, near to *Madrid*, an Inhabitant of *Sevil*, and Reſident in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confeſſing, affirmative, profeſſing the Law of *Moſes*, Obſtinate, Impenitent.

Ages.	Punishments
42. *Miguel Henriques da Fonseca*, a *New Christian*, an Advocate, Native of the Town of *Avios*, an Inhabitant in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of *Moses*, Obstinate, Impenitent.	

These three were Burnt alive, within two hours after the Inquisitors had delivered them to the *Secular Arm.*

32. *Pedro Serraon*, more than half a *New Christian*, a Bachelor, the Son of *Antonio Serraon*, an Apothecary, who is in the List, a Native, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, Negative, and Obstinate.	

This Last, was first Strangled, and afterwards Burnt to Ashes with the other Three.

FINIS.

THE

SPANISH

PROTESTANT

Martyrology.

By *Michael Geddes*, LL. D. and *Chancellor* of the Cathedral Church of *Sarum*.

How long, O Lord, holy and true, doſt thou not judge and revenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth? Rev. VI. 10.

THE

PREFACE.

THE *Eminent* Spaniſh *Divines, that were ſent by the Emperor,* Charles V. *and his Son* Philip, *into* Germany, England, *and* Flanders *to Convert the* Proteſtants *in thoſe Countries to the* Roman Faith, *having by Converſing with the* Reformers, *and Reading their Books, been themſelves Converted to the* Catholick, *returned home, full of Zeal to Propagate that Holy Faith through their Native Countrey; and being Perſons, both by their Exemplary Piety, and great Learning, extremely well qualified for ſo great and Bleſſed a Work; their Succeſs in it was ſuch, that had not a ſpeedy, and full Stop been put to their Pious Labours, by the Mercileſs Inquiſition, the whole Kingdom of* Spain *had in all likelihood been Converted to the* Proteſtant Religion, *in leſs time than any other Countrey had been ever before.*

So Mightily grew the Word of God, and prevailed by the Labours of such Great Men, and who had been called to the Knowledge and Love of it, after such an extraordinary manner.

And to satisfie the Reader, that I do not Affirm this without good Warrant, I shall here set down what is said concerning those Holy Men, by the Writer of the Historia Potifical, *a Zealous Papist, and by* Paramus, *an* Inquisitor, *in his History of the* Inquisition.

In former times, *saith the Author*, of the *Historia Pontifical*, The Prisoners that were brought out of the Inquisition to be Burnt, *or with St.* Benitos, were mean People, and of a bad Race: But in these latter years we have seen its Prisons, Scaffolds, and Stakes filled with Illustrious Persons of Noble Families, and with others, who, as to all outward appearances, had great advantages over their Neighbours, as well for their Learning as for their Piety. Now the Fountain of this, and of many more Evils, *saith he*, was our Catholick Princes, out of the great Affection which they had for *Germany*, *England*, and other Countries, that were not under the Obedience of the *Roman-Church*, having sent divers Learned Men, and Preachers out of *Spain* into those Parts; hoping by their Sermons, to have Con-

Converted those that were in Error, to the way of Truth; but such was their Misfortune, that instead of Reaping Fruit by that Diligence; the Preachers that had been thus sent by them, to give Light to others, returned home Blind themselves: And having either been deceived, or possess'd with an Ambition of being esteemed Learned, and of having improved themselves in those Foreign Countries, they followed the Example of the *Hereticks*, who had Broached Heresy in them.

And in another place the same Author speaking of the same Persons, and of the Converts which they had made, saith, All the Prisoners in the Inquisitions of *Valedolid*, *Sevil*, and *Toledo*, were Persons abundantly well Qualified. *I shall here pass the r Names in Silence, that I may not, by their bad Fame, Stain the Honour of their Ancestors, and the Nobility of the several Illustrious Families which were Infected with this Poison: And as those Prisoners,* saith he, *were Persons thus qualified, so their number was so great, that had the stop, which was put to that Evil, been delayed but two or three Months longer, I am perswaded, all* Spain *had been put in a Flame, by them.*

And of the Disposition Spain *was in at this time, viz. betwixt the Year,* 1550, *and* 1560. *to have Embraced the* Protestant Religion;

we have a farther Teſtimony from Paramus, *who in his Hiſtory of the Inquiſition, Affirms,* That had not the Inquiſition taken care in time, to have put a ſtop to thoſe Proteſtant Preachers, the Proteſtant Religion would have run through *Spain* like *Wild-Fire*; People of all Degrees, and of both Sexes having been wonderfully diſpoſed to Embrace it.

So Powerful were the Doctrines of the Reformation *in thoſe days, that no Prejudices, nor Intereſts were any where ſtrong enough to hinder Piouſly diſpoſed Minds, after they came thorowly to underſtand them, from Embracing them; And that the ſame Doctrines have not ſtill the ſame Divine Force, is neither owing to their being grown Older, nor to* Popery's *not being ſo groſs, nor to any change in Peoples natural Diſpoſitions, but is owing purely to the want of the ſame Zeal for thoſe Doctrines in their Profeſſors, and eſpecially, for the three great Doctrines of the* Reformation, *which the following Martyrs Sealed with their Blood: which were,* That the Pope is *Anti-Chriſt*; That the Worſhip of the *Church* of *Rome* is *Idolatrous*, and that a Sinner is Juſtified in the ſight of God by Faith, and through Chriſt's, and not through his own merits.

There

There be two things the Reader of this Martyrology ought to be advertized of.

The one is, That no Credit is to be given to Inquiſitors and their Creatures Reports of the Priſoners that are put to Death, by them, ſince nothing is more notorious, than their reckoning it to be ſo far from being a Sin, that they reckon it to be Meritorious, by Slanders and Calumnies, to Rob all of their Good Name, whom they deprive of their lives, repreſenting them always as ſuch Monſters of Wickedneſs, that whatever their Religion had been, they had deſerved for their Immoralities to have ſuffered death.

And ſo the vaſt Numbers of the Albigenſes *were put to death for having ſeparated themſelves from the* Communion *of the* Roman *Church, on the account of the Idolatry of her Worſhip, the Inquiſitors had the confidence to affirm,* That they held it Lawful to deny the *Chriſtian Faith* with their Mouths, to avoid being Perſecuted for it, they affirmed, that the Devil, having been unjuſtly thrown out of Heaven, ought to be Worſhipped more than God, *and that* Promiſcuous Venery was Lawful, but Matrimony was Hell and Damnation, and that the Murthering of Infants, and drinking of their Blood was their daily practice in their Aſſemblies of Worſhip.

And whereas the Inquisitors do in this vile and unmanly Course imitate their Predecessors, the Heathen Persecutors of the Christian Faith; so, if I am not mistaken, all such Persecutors are forced to take this base Course in their own defence; and that thorough the great Body of Mankind, having still too much good nature and humanity left in them, long to suffer people whose lives are owned to be unblamable, to be tortured, and put to cruel Deaths, meerly on the account of some Speculative Persuasions in Religion.

The Second thing the Reader of this Martyrology *is to be advertiz'd of, is; Not to wonder at his meeting with no Account of what was said by the following* Martyrs, *either at their Tryals, or at their Death: For as all things within the Inquisition, where they were try'd, were transacted with a wonderful secrecy; so if any its Prisoners, when they are brought out to be burnt, do either in the Procession, or on the Scaffold where they receive the Sentence of Death, or at the Stake, offer to speak a Word in defence of the Religion they are about to die for, they are immediately gag'd, and not suffer'd to speak a Word more.*

And thus that Unity, the Roman Church *boasts of so much, is preserved by methods, which must necessarily maintain Unity in any Body of men: For can any Society that destroys*

all

all presently that differ from it, let its Errors be never so many, or so groß, be possibly troubl'd with any Divisions? And as that Pope, who on his Death-bed, called the Inquisition, The Pillar of the Church of Rome; *was perfectly in his Senses when he spoke these Words; so I doubt that Church will never do its bold pretence to Infallibility, which it would persuade the World, is the cause of its Unity, the honour to try how it would maintain Unity in it, without the help of Inquisitions, and other sanguinary Methods.*

THE

THE

SPANISH

PROTESTANT

Martyrology.

ABout the Year 1440, great numbers of people were, at the Inſtigation of the Inquiſitors, driven by the King's Muſqueteers out of the Highlands of *Duringo* in *Biſcay*, to *Valedolid*, and *Domingo de Calcadar*, and who were burnt alive at thoſe places, for having refuſed to abjure divers Doctrines which are condemned as Heretical by the *Roman* Church.

We are not told what the Doctrines were ſuch multitudes of people were thus put to death for profeſſing; but it is more than probable

probable, that they were the ſame with thoſe of the *Vadois* among the *Alpes*; the Primitive Faith having, till about this time, been preſerved entire in ſome Mountainous and almoſt inacceſſible Countries, by reaſon of their having never been before haunted by any *PopiſhFryers* or Inquiſitors to corrupt it, or to puniſh its ſtedfaſt Profeſſors with death.

Mr. Nicholas Burton.

The firſt that Suffered Martyrdom in *Spain* for being a Proteſtant, that we Read of, was Mr. *Nicholas Burton*, an *Engliſh* Factor, who was Burnt at *Sevil*, in the Reign of Queen *Mary* of *England*; Mr. *Burton*'s Goods and Notes having been all Seized when he was Apprehended, the Merchants of *London*, to whom thoſe Goods and Notes belonged, ſent one Mr. *Frampton* to recover them, and diſpoſe of them: But the Inquiſitors, after having Baffled M. *Frampton* for ſome Months with frivolous pretences, did put a full ſtop to his Negotiation, by Impriſoning him on ſuſpicion of Hereſie.

Dr.

Dr. *Auguſtine Cazalla.*

In the *Year* 1558, Dr. *Auguſtine Cazalla*, Canon of the Church of *Salamanca*, and who had been for ſeveral years, Chaplain and Preacher to the Emperor, *Charles* V. in *Germany* was taken up and impriſoned by the Inquiſition of *Valedolid*, for being a Proteſtant; as was alſo his Mother *Donna Leonora de Vivera*, at whoſe Houſe the Proteſtants uſed to aſſemble to worſhip God; and his three Brothers, and two Siſters, and their Servants; who had been all converted by him to the Catholick Faith; for ſuch I do reckon the Proteſtant to be, for being the ſame with that Faith, that was proteſted by the whole Chriſtian Church when the *Creeds* were made. This moſt pious and learned Martyr is acknowledged by *Paramus* an Inquiſitor, to have *been a moſt Eloloquent Preacher:* And who after having undergone all the Cruelties of the mercileſs Court of Inquiſition, in which his Mother died, was with thirteen more, profeſſing the *Proteſtant Religion* brought forth and burnt to Aſhes in an *Act of the Faith.* The Inquiſitors gave out after his Death, That he had reconciled himſelf to the Church of *Rome* in their Priſons; which they did on purpoſe to prejudice his Converts againſt his Memory

Memory and Doctrines: For had he been penitent, why did they burn him, having never relapſed? And would it not have been more for their Intereſt to have ſuffer'd him to live, and to have obliged him to have preached to his Converts to follow his Example, than to have burnt him out of the way?

Herezulo.

Herezulo, a moſt Devout and Eminent Lawyer, was burnt alive at the ſame time, and in the ſame place with Dr. *Cazalla*, by whom he had been converted. I have nothing more to relate of this Bleſſed Martyr, but what is ſaid of the admirable Conſtancy and Courage wherewith he ſuffered the cruel Death of being burnt alive, by the Writer of the *Hiſtoria Pontifical*, who was preſent at his Martyrdom: *I was ſo near the Bachelor* Herezulo, *when he was burnt alive*, ſaith the Writer, *that I obſerved all his Geſtures and Motions; for he could not ſpeak, having his mouth gag'd for the Blaſphemy he had uttered againſt the* Roman Church; *he appear'd to me to be a moſt reſolute and hardned perſon; and tho I marked him very narrowly, I did not diſcover the leaſt Sign or Expreſſion of any uneaſineſs in him; only, that he had a*

ſadneſs

ſadneſs in his Countenance, beyond any thing I had ever ſeen before.

Dr. *Perez.*

Dr. *Perez*, A Secular Prieſt, of great Learning, and Exemplary Piety, and a moſt fervent Preacher, was brought out of the Inquiſition, and burnt in the ſame Act of the Faith: Of all which Glorious Martyrdoms, *Charles* Prince of *Spain* was a Spectator; and who was afterwards privately put to death by his Father; and as was commonly ſaid, For his having diſcovered a ſtrong Affection to the Proteſtant Faith.

Don Carlos de Seſo.

At an Act of Faith celebrated not long after, by the ſame Court of Inquiſition, *Don Carlos de Seſo*, a Nobleman of an Illuſtrious Family, with forty Proteſtants more, was brought out and burnt alive, profeſſing the Proteſtant Religion; of whom, and of one *John Sancho*, who had been a Servant to *Don Peter Cazalla*, who was burnt at the ſame time with his Brother: The Writer of the *Hiſtoria Pontifical* ſaith, *That they endured being burnt alive, with a Courage that aſtoniſhed all that beheld it.*

Donna

Donna Leonora de Ciſneros.

Donna Leonora de Ciſneros, the Widow of the Bleſſed Martyr *Herezulo*, after ſeveral Years impriſonment in the Inquiſition of *Valedolid*, was brought out and burnt alive; which painful Death ſhe underwent with a courage nothing inferiour to that of her Huſband: Of which Bleſſed Couple, and *Don Carlos de Seſo*, the Writer of the *Hiſtoria Pontifical* ſaith, *That they endured being burnt alive, as if they had been made of Stone, and not of Fleſh and Blood.*

Soon after the Inquiſition of *Valedolid* had made this terrible havock of the Church of God within her Diſtricts, that of *Sevil* broke in with no leſs cruelty and fury upon the Church of God gathered in the City, by the Miniſtry of Dr. *Egidio*, and Dr. *Conſtantino*, the Two great and ſhining Lights of *Spain*, and who before they were ſuſpected of being Proteſtants, were univerſally acknowledged to be ſo.

Dr. *John Egidio* was firſt Rector of the Univerſity of *Complutum*, and from thence was called to be Doctor of the Chair in Divinity at *Liquenſa*, where he had not been long before he was choſe Canon and Preacher

er of the Cathedral Church of *Sevil* by the Dean and Chapter of that City. In all which Posts, but particularly in the last, he behaved himself so well, that he was beloved and admired for his shining Piety, his profound Learning, and great Humility, by all that knew him, and by none more than by the Emperor, *Charles* V. who us'd to call him *His Preacher*, and who, in the Year 1550, bestowed *Tortosa*, one of the Richest Bishopricks in all *Spain* upon him. But before this Great, and Holy Man was Consecrated a Bishop, he was taken up by the Inquisition of *Sevil* for being a *Protestant*, and a *Teacher of that Faith*: when, or how he died in the Inquisition we knw not, but it is certain, that some years after he was Apprehended, his Bones were brought out and Burnt in an Act of the Faith Celebrated in that City, as the Bones of one who had died an impenitent *Protestant Heretick*. In a Letter writ, and dated from *Trent*, on *November* 19, 1551, by a TitularBishop, to the Bishop of *Arras*, it is said, *We hear from* Spain, *that the nominated Bishop of* Tortosa, meaning Doctor *Egidio*, *is Condemned by the Inquisition to Perpetual Imprisonment*; I shall therefore, saith that *Hungry Titular*, *be infinitely obliged to your Lordship*, *if you will be pleased to remember me*, *in case the Bishop*

of Elna *be Tranſlated to* Tortoſa, *which is by this means become Vacant.*

Don *John Pontio* de *Leon.*

On *September* 24, 1559, Don *John Pontio* de *Leon*, Son to Don *Rodrigo* Conde of *Baylen*, was, with divers others, Profeſſing the Proteſtant Faith, Burnt at *Sevil*; theſe Bleſſed Martyrs were all Converted to the Catholick Faith by that Learned Saint, Doctor *Egidio*, and did, both in their Lives, and at their Deaths diſcover themſelves to be Sons, not unworthy of ſuch a Ghoſtly Father. The Doctrines they Suffered Martyrdom for Profeſſing, were,

1. *That the Worſhip of the* Church *of* Rome *was Idolatrous.*
2. *That the* Pope *was* Anti-Chriſt.
3. *That Men were* Juſtified *by* Faith, *and not by* Works.

Dr. *Conſtantino Pontio.*

Dr. *Conſtantino Pontio*, Chaplain, and as ſome ſay, Confeſſor to the Emperor *Charles* the V. and Canon and Preacher of the Cathedral of *Sevil*, was after that Prince's reſignation of his Crowns, and retreat to *Spain*, taken up by the Inquiſition of that City,

City, as a Proteſtant Heretick; and who having died in the Priſons of the Inquiſition, the Inquiſitors beſt knew how, his Body with divers of his Books in Manuſcript, were brought out and burnt in an *Act of the Faith*: Among his Books that were burnt, one bore the Title, of *An Account of the True Chriſtian*; which he maintained the *Proteſtant* to be; and *Of the Antichriſtian Church*; which he proved was the *Roman*. There was likewiſe among his Books a Treatiſe *againſt Purgatory* and *Indulgences*. A Second Treatiſe againſt *Tranſubſtatiation*, and a Third, againſt the *Merit of Good Works*.

This Learned Doctor was Ordered by the Emperor to attend his Son, Prince *Philip*, in Quality of his Preacher, into *Flanders*, on purpoſe to let the *Flemings* ſee that *Spain*, at that time, was not without its polite Scholars and Orators. And ſo in the Hiſtory of the Prince's Voyage, Printed at *Madrid* in *Spaniſh*, in the Year 1550. Doctor *Conſtantino* his Preacher is ſaid to be, *The greateſt Philoſopher, the moſt Profound Divine, and the moſt Eloquent Preacher, that had been in* Spain *in many Ages*.

Which Juſt Character of this great Saint, was, after he was Condemned as a Proteſtant, by the Inquiſition, by order of the *Index Expurgatorius* Blotted out of that Hiſtory; and on this Paſſage the *Expurgator*

of the Book, which is in my Hands, was ſo liberal of his Ink, that I had much ado to Read it.

Here the Reader is to take notice, that among the other vile Arts practiſed by the Church of *Rome*, to ſupport the Credit of her groſs Errors, one is, that ſhe will not allow any that have been her Adverſaries, ever to have had any ſort of Learning; as if it were not poſſible for any that had any degree of Learning, to doubt of the truth of any of her Doctrines: And ſo if in any of the Books permitted to be read by the *Index Expurgatorius*, *Eraſmus*, *Calvin*, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, *Caſaubon*, or any other Proteſtant Writers, do happen to be honoured with the Title of Learned, that Title muſt be blotted out, as a thing that did not belong to them.

It is reported, That the Emperor *Charles* the V. when he heard of his Chaplain Dr. *Conſtantino* being taken up by the Inquiſition, ſhould ſay, *If* Conſtantino *be an Heretick, he is not an ordinary one*; alluding to his extraordinary Piety and Devotion, as well as Learning.

John Gonſalvo, a Secular Prieſt.

Father *John Gonſalvo*, a pious and fervent Preacher, and who was converted to the *Catholick*

Catholick Faith by Dr. *Egidio*, was burnt at the ſame time and place with his Dear and Intimate Friend *Don John de Leon*; to which bleſſed Couple, what was ſaid of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, may be properly applied: *They were pleaſant and lovely in their Lives, and in their Deaths they were not divided.*

This bleſſed Saint, as he was going to the Stake, began to ſing the 109 *Pſalm*, but being commanded to give over ſinging, he obey'd, well knowing, that if he had not, he ſhould not have been permitted to ſpeak a Word more; and having when he came to the Stake, obſerved, that one of his Siſters, who was to be burnt with him, looked much dejected, he cry'd out to her, *Be of good courage, dear Siſter, and keep the Faith*; but as he was going on with his Exhortation, the Officers ordered him to be ſtrangled, pretending, that he meant the Faith of the *Roman Church*: And thus Policy, when nothing elſe can, will make Inquiſitors be merciful: For the truth is, the Inquiſitors finding the people much affected with the admirable Courage and Conſtancy of Mind wherewith the Proteſtant Martyrs did ſuffer the moſt painful of all Deaths, being burnt, or rather roaſted alive, they began to fear the conſequence of entertaining them daily with ſuch dangerous Spectacles; and for that Reaſon, until thoſe great Examples

were pretty well forgot, they either ſtrangled the Profeſt before they burnt them, pretending they had at the Stake deſired to be reconciled to the *Roman* Church; or having died in the Inquiſition, they burnt them in *Effigie*.

Juliano Fernando.

Juliano Fernando, who for his low ſtature, and thin Body, was commonly called Little *Julian*, was taken up by the Inquiſition of *Sevil*, for having imported, and diſperſed great numbers of *Spaniſh* Libels, which had been Printed in *Germany*. And tho' it is a hard matter to know any thing that paſſeth within the Walls of the Inquiſition, we are told by ſome that were in its Priſons at the ſame time with this Saint, that they once heard him, as he paſs'd by the doors of their Priſons, cry out, *Vencidos van los Frayles, vencidos van*, that is, *The Fryers are Baffled, they are Baffled*: And at another time, *Curridoz van los lobos, curridos van*, that is, *The Wolves do flie, they do flie*. And in the Morning before he was to be Burnt, meeting with a great number of Proteſtants in the Hall where their Flaming Habits were put on, he cry'd out to them, *Dear Brethren and Siſters, be of good Courage ,and Triumph over Death*. And having

ving thereupon been gagg'd all day, a certain Prieſt, whoſe name was *Ferrando Rodriguez*, and who formerly had himſelf been well inclined to the Proteſtant Religion, when that Saint was brought to the Stake, deſired he might be ungagged, boaſting, that he ſhould be able to perſwade him to be Reconciled to the *Romiſh* Church, which he was ſo far from being able to do, that that Saint, after he had with great Patience, heard all that that Prieſt was able to ſay to him, anſwered him with a holy zeal, *Thou Apoſtate, how dareſt thou, contrary to the Convictions of thy own Conſcience, go about to perſwade me to ſave my life by Abjuring the Truth?* with which ſevere Reproof, that Apoſtate was ſo enraged, that he cry'd aloud, *Shall* Spain, *the Conqueror of Nations, have its Peace diſturb'd by ſuch a Dwarf as this? Executioner, Burn that Incorrigible Heretick*, which was done immediately; one of the Officers that ſtood by, having, either out of Compaſſion or Fury, given him a dreadful blow on the head with a pole, amidſt the Flames.

Father *John de Leon.*

John de Leon, a Monk, of *St. Iſidore*, in the City of *Sevil*, having been Converted by Doctor *Egidio*, to the Catholick

Faith; did, with ſeveral more Monks of the ſame Monaſtery, and who were likewiſe Proteſtants, make his Eſcape to *Frankfort* in *Germany*; and not thinking himſelf ſafe there, he went to *Geneva*, and there remained, till Queen *Mary* of *England*'s death: When being invited by the *Engliſh* Refugees to go along with them to *England*, he kindly accepted of that Brotherly Invitation; but having eſcaped the Traps which had been laid for him, and the other *Spaniſh* Refugees, at *Cologn*, and other places in *Germany*, he, and one *John Fernaidel*, another *Spaniſh* Confeſſor, were diſcovered at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, which was then under the *Spaniſh* Dominion, as they were ready to have Embarqu'd there for *England*.

And having been told by the Officer that ſeized him, *That he was the Man he looked for*, he turned about to his Companion, and ſaid. *Come Brother, let us go, God calls us to Suffer for his Goſpel; if we do not forſake God, he will not forſake us.*

This Saint, after having been carried to Priſon, and racked there to make him diſcover the places where the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Refugees abſconded themſelves, was put aboard a Ship, which carried him to *Sevil*, having been kept in Chains and gagg'd all the Voyage, but when he eat his Victuals, which

which was nothing but dry Bread and Water: He was likewiſe brought gagg'd out of the Inquiſition, and ſo continued until he was burnt, without diſcovering any thing that looked like fear or uneaſineſs.

Dr. *Chriſtopher Loſada.*

Chriſtopher Loſada, an Eminent Phyſician, was burnt at the ſame time for being a Proteſtant, who, as all the reſt did, ſuffered death with a joy and unconcernedneſs, that amazed all that beheld it.

I am apt to think, that the unhappy *Michael Servetus*, the moſt Eminent Phyſician of his Age, was one of the *Spaniſh* Refugees of this Perſecution; but where ever that unhappy man learnt the Hereſies for which he was put to death at *Geneva*, certain it is, that he did not bring them out of *Spain* with him; none that were put to death in that Kingdom for being Proteſtants, having by their Adverſaries, ever been charged with any of his Hereſies.

Chri-

Chriſtopher Aurelio.

Chriſtopher Aurelio, an Eminent School Divine, and who by reading the Scriptures had been converted to the *Catholick Faith*, was burnt in the ſame *Act of the Faith*, triumphing over Death as a conquered Enemy.

Garſias Arias.

Garſias Arias, a Monk of St. *Iſidore*, and who was commonly called Dr. *Blanco*, did like St. *Paul*, of a Violent Perſecutor, turn a Zealous Profeſſor of the Catholick Faith, for the Teſtimony whereof he was burnt at *Sevil*, rejoicing that God had thought him worthy to ſuffer for ſo good a Cauſe. This Monaſtery of St. *Iſidore* was the great *Seminary* of the *Proteſtant Religion in* Spain, five Monks having been taken out of it by the Inquiſition, and Burnt; and twelve having made their eſcape out of it, repaired to *Geneva*.

Ferdinando

Ferdinando à Sancto Johanne.

Ferdinando à Sancto Johanne, who, though but a young Man when he was Burnt, had been eight years a Profeſſor of Humanity in St. *Iſidore*'s Colledge in *Sevil*; he was a Perſon of great Zeal and Devotion, and was brought gagg'd out of the Inquiſition, and continued ſo till he was Burnt, praiſing God with his eyes and hands, not being permitted to Praiſe him with his Lips.

Donna Maria Bohorquia.

Donna Maria Bohorquia, a young Lady of ſuch admirable Knowledge and Piety, that Dr. *Egidio* did uſe to ſay, *That none could diſcourſe with her of Divine Matters (and ſhe did not care to talk of any other) without being made both wiſer and better by her:* When ſhe was but a Girl, ſhe Learnt Latin to be able to read the Bible, which in *Spain* was not at that time to be met with in any other Language, and having by indefatigable Study, in a ſhort time acquired ſo much skill in that Tongue, as to be able to hear the Divine Oracles ſpeaking in it to her Conſcience, ſhe ſo apply'd her ſelf to them, that ſhe had the whole Bible almoſt by

by heart; neither did ſhe, after ſhe had once taſted of that, ever care to Read in any other. When ſhe was brought out of the Inquiſition to be Burnt, with an heavenly joy, ſpread all over her Countenance, ſhe began to ſing Praiſes to God, with a moſt Melodious Voice; and having, when forbid, refuſed to give over ſinging, ſhe was gagg'd, and continued ſo till ſhe was brought to the Stake. But the Fryers, dreading the ill effects, her Example, both in her Life, and at her Death might have on the Minds of the People, if they believed her to die a Proteſtant, cry'd out after ſhe was faſtned to the Stake, *She is Converted, and deſires before ſhe dies, to be Reconciled to the Church of* Rome. And ſo pretending to give her Abſolution, ſhe was immediately ſtrangled, and Burnt.

There were a great many more Women, and ſeveral of them of high Quality, burnt at this time both at *Valedolid*, and at *Sevil*, for being Proteſtants; and who being all learned in the Scriptures, the Inquiſitors, who are all utter Strangers to thoſe Divine Books, were not able to diſcourſe with them about the Truths revealed in thoſe Oracles of God: This provoked *Paramus*, a Furious *Spaniſh* Inquiſitor, to declaim vehemently againſt Women's being ſuf-

ſuffered to read the Bible, and againſt the Proteſtant Religion likewiſe, for permitting Women, contrary to St. *Paul*'s prohibition, to ſpeak in their Publick Aſſemblies of Worſhip: As if Women that Studied the Scriptures could not forbear to take the Miniſterial Office upon them; and as if the Proteſtant Religion, when they are ſo qualified, did allow them to do it; whereas in Truth, no People are ſo far from aſſuming any of the Miniſterial Functions, as thoſe who are moſt Converſant in the Scriptures, which do expreſly condemn that Preſumption; neither did any of the *Spaniſh* Proteſtant's Laity, Men or Women, ever take upon them to Preach in the Aſſemblies of their Worſhip, nor did any of their Teachers ever allow the doing of it to be Lawful. But thus the Inquiſitors, as I have obſerved, do make no Conſcience of Calumniating thoſe they Burn, and of loading the Religion, for which they Suffer, with unjuſt, and many times, inconſiſtent Reproaches.

The Bleſſed Saints, I have here named, tho' they were the Leaders, were for number, but a ſmall part of that Glorious Army of *Spaniſh* Proteſtant Martyrs, Burnt at this time by the Inquiſition, and who for the exemplary Piety of their Lives, and

and the admirable Patience and Courage, wherewith they Triumphed over Death, in the moſt Terrible of all its Shapes, were nothing inferiour to the Martyrs of any other Nation in any Age.

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